GENNADEION MONOGRAPHS III

MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE VISITORS TO GREEK LANDS

GENNADEION MONOGRAPHS III

Καὶ εἶδον οὐρανὸν καινὸν καὶ γῆν καινήν· ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ πρώτη γῆ ἀπῆλθαν, καὶ ἡ θάλασσα οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι. καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καινὴν εἶδον καταβαίνουσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

REVELATION, xxi, 1–2

Μακάριοι οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν, ἵνα ἔσται ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῖς πυλῶσιν εἰσέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

REVELATION, xxii, 14

CHAPTERS ON

MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE VISITORS TO GREEK LANDS

BY

JAMES MORTON PATON

EDITED BY

L.A.P.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

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PREFACE

A FEW words in regard to the contents of this little book are necessary. Its author, at the time of his death on November 23, 1944, had in preparation an extensive work on the mediaeval history and monuments of Athens, in the manifold sources for which, even after the invaluable studies of Laborde and more recent scholars, he still found a fresh harvest. His researches, carried on principally in the libraries and archives of Paris, Venice, Florence and Rome, were interrupted in 1939 by the European war, and their continuation at the Harvard College Library was somewhat later terminated by his gradually failing health. His work, in spite of its long duration, can scarcely be said to have passed beyond the stage of collecting sources; their synthesis and discussion he had of course postponed until they should have been adequately assembled. He had, however, although Athens remained the center of his interest, almost completed a few sections, forming to a certain extent byways leading from the main path, and he had also prepared the texts of various sources in a form suitable for publication. This material is collected here in the hope that, as he would have desired, it may prove of service to future investigators in the same field. His private notes have supplied a basis for the main part of the slight requisite editing, which has chiefly consisted in the completion or addition of footnotes. A lecture on Turkish Athens, though somewhat elementary and delivered many years ago, has been included as a compendium of its subject that may be found convenient. The accounts of Athens in Chapter II have been hitherto unpublished, or published only in rare or not easily accessible texts, and therefore, with a few additions, are brought together here, even if not annotated or fully collated. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that no one would have insisted more zealously than the writer upon the essentially incomplete condition of the material as a whole — a condition indeed that accounts for the absence or the inequalities in presentation of some important sources among those given below.

He would earnestly have desired to express his sincere gratitude to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, to the Archivio di Stato and the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, the Biblioteca Laurenziana and the Archivio di Stato in Florence, the Biblioteca Vaticana, and the Harvard College Library for the many courtesies that he received from them in the course of his researches. That once again his work should have been given a place among the Gennadeion Monographs is an honor of which he would have been deeply appreciative.

L.A.P.

Boston, April, 1947

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.A.	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
Ath. Mitt.	*Mittheilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts. Athenische Abtheilung.*
Beregani	N. Beregani, *Historia delle Guerre d'Europa dalla comparsa dell'Armi Ottomane nell'Hungheria, l'anno 1683.* Venice, 1698.
Bibl. Nat.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
C.r. Acad. Insc.	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.*
Collignon, *Giraud*	M. Collignon, *Le Consul Jean Giraud et sa Relation de l'Attique au XVII^e siècle.* Paris, 1913. "Extrait des *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* XXXIX, 1913."
Relation	"Relation d'Attenes," *C.r. Acad. Insc.*, 4^e Série, XXV, 1897, pp. 59–71.
Enc. ital.	*Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti.*
Foscarini	M. Foscarini, *Historia della Republica Veneta.* Venice, 1696.
Garzoni	P. Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Lege contro Maometto IV.* Venice, 1720. 4th edition.
Laborde	Comte de Laborde, *Athènes aux XV^e, XVI^e, et XVII^e siècles.* Paris, 1854.
Locatelli	A. Locatelli, *Racconto historico della Veneta Guerra in Levante.* Cologne, 1691.
Migne, *P.L.*	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Patres Latini.*
Miller	W. Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient.* Cambridge, 1921.
O.F.	Old French.
Omont, *Athènes*	H. Omont, *Athènes au XVII^e siècle.* Paris, 1898.
Pernot	Robert de Dreux, *Voyage en Turquie et en Grèce,* ed. H. Pernot. Paris, 1925.
R. arch.	*Revue archéologique.*
R. ét. gr.	*Revue des études grecques.*
R. Or. lat.	*Revue de l'Orient latin.*

Saint-Priest . . .	Comte de Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur l'Ambassade de France en Turquie.* Paris, 1877. *Publications des langues orientales vivantes,* Série I, 6.
Setton, *Catalans* . .	K. M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388.* Cambridge, Mass., 1948.
Stuart	James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Antiquities of Athens.* London, 1762–1815.
Vandal	A. Vandal, *L'Odyssée d'un Ambassadeur. Les Voyages du Marquis de Nointel.* Paris, 1900.
Wachsmuth . . .	C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum.* Leipzig, I, 1874; II, 1890.
Z	*Zeitschrift.*

In the quotations from manuscripts the capitalization, accentuation, and punctuation have usually been modernized, but errors in vocabulary and spelling have in general not been corrected; in quotations from books the printed text has been followed in these particulars, though most abbreviations have been expanded.

MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE VISITORS TO GREEK LANDS

CHAPTER I

Turkish Athens[1]

TRADITION tells us that in the year 529 of our era an edict of the Emperor Justinian closed the schools of philosophy at Athens. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that about this time Athens, whose citizens had found a congenial substitute for the political conflicts of their ancestors in factional strife over the merits of their favorite lecturers or the qualifications of rival candidates for vacant professorial chairs, ceased to be a university city and sank into the insignificant provincial town which it remained for thirteen hundred years. Although during most of this time it can scarcely be said to have a history — in fact I doubt whether a dozen references to contemporary Athens can be found in the six centuries after Justinian, — four episodes stand out as possessing peculiar significance. Each marks a definite break with the past; after each we are confronted by a changed city; its life or at any rate its aspect has been profoundly altered, and there is no return to previous conditions. These episodes are the capture of the city by the Franks (the Fourth Crusade) in 1204; the annexation by the Turks in 1456; the Venetian siege in 1687; and the evacuation of the Acropolis by the Turkish garrison, March 31, 1833. It is the interval between the second and third of these events, that is, the first period of Turkish rule, that especially concerns us today.

Moreover, although Athens during long periods almost disappears from sight, a happy chance has preserved from the years immediately preceding each of the above events contemporary records which enable us to reconstruct, however incompletely, the conditions that were soon to pass away. For Byzantine and Frankish Athens the sources are so meager that the resulting picture is indistinct; but for the two phases of Turkish rule the stream of information flows much more freely and we are further aided by plans and drawings, which, though often defective, at least enable us to realize better the changes caused by the brief but disastrous Venetian occupation.

No sharp line can be drawn separating Roman from Byzantine Athens. The

[1] An illustrated lecture delivered with a few variations before the Classical Association of Eastern Massachusetts, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on February 2, 1918, and before the Hartford Society of the Archaeological Institute of America in Hartford, Connecticut, on November 7, 1919. References to some of the illustrations, derived principally from Stuart and from Omont, are given below. A few notes partially prepared before 1919 and others utilizing material that has been published since 1919 have been added. For a detailed and richly documented account of the events briefly sketched here the reader is referred to Setton, *Catalans*, especially Chapters I, II, V, VIII, X.

transition from the university city to the provincial town seems to have been gradual, but its successive stages can no longer be traced. Ceasing to be a center of learning Athens dropped completely out of the current of events and for seven hundred years her name is rarely mentioned by historians.[2] Naturally this decline, accompanied as it was by the extinction of the old faith, was not without serious consequences for the ancient monuments. Some of the temples, indeed, as the Parthenon, Erechtheum, and Theseum, were only transformed into churches, and such buildings as the Propylaea and the Stoa of Hadrian may have been devoted to public use; but in general the indications are that what religious zeal spared fell into ruin and gradually disappeared.

Yet the record is not merely one of destruction and decline. The city was by no means deserted and seems to have retained a certain importance, while it doubtless shared the general prosperity of the empire under such great rulers as the Macedonian dynasty and the Comneni. Its bishop in the tenth century had become a Metropolitan, and his cathedral, the Parthenon, now dedicated to the Virgin, the Panagia Theotokos Atheniotissa, was sufficiently famous to attract as pilgrims even high officials from the court at Constantinople. Here too came in 1018 the Emperor Basil II to render thanks to the Virgin for his great victory over the Bulgarians and to bestow rich gifts upon her sanctuary.[3] Churches indeed were numerous in Athens, and some have survived until this day. The Panagia Gorgoepekoos or Little Metropolitan is dated by some authorities in the ninth century and can scarcely be later than the twelfth; the Russian church of St. Nicodemus was standing early in the eleventh century, and the churches of the Capnicarea and the Saints Theodore were probably built before 1150. Outside of the city proper the monastery church at Daphni with its superb mosaics is a work of the eleventh century, and assuredly suggests that at that time the city was fairly prosperous.

The inhabitants too enjoyed certain privileges; they were subject only to the land tax and ship money — no light exemption in the heavily taxed Byzantine empire; and they were secured against the quartering of soldiers by the provision that no governor could enter the city with an armed force. Yet in spite of all this Athens was by no means the first city in Greece. Thebes was the residence of the governor of the united provinces of Hellas and Peloponnesus, and was also the center of a flourishing silk industry. Patras, Corinth and Chalcis were all prosperous and wealthy cities compared to Athens, which at the end of the twelfth century had little trade and seems to have manufactured only soap, and cloth

[2] See K. M. Setton, "Athens in the Later Twelfth Century," *Speculum*, XIX, No. 22, 1944, pp. 181–185.

[3] The Latin emperor Henry II in the course of a journey to Thessalonica in 1209 made a detour "à la maistre eglyse d'Athaines en orisons chou est une eglyse c'on dist de Nostre-Dame." Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri*, in Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris: 1874), p. 412. Cf. Miller, p. 113.

for monks' gowns. Moreover the coast was plundered ceaselessly by the pirates who infested the Aegean and rendered even the passage to Aegina dangerous.

At the end of the twelfth century the silence is broken by the writings of Michael Acominatus,[4] Metropolitan of Athens. A native of Colossae[5] but trained at Constantinople in all the learning of his time, the pupil and friend of the Homeric commentator Eustathius, bishop of Thessalonica, and himself an orator and scholar of high reputation, he came to Athens about 1175 full of enthusiasm, and in spite of bitter disappointments labored earnestly for the welfare of his people, until in 1204 the Frankish conquest drove him from his beloved city.[6] He had found a scanty population almost without manufactures or trade, wretchedly poor and ignorant, to whom his simplest classical style was scarcely intelligible, and who showed plainly their lack of appreciation by inattention and even conversation during his sermons.

Full allowance being made for obvious rhetorical exaggeration, the picture is a gloomy one, and we are hardly surprised to learn that the good bishop had little but an occasional name to remind him of the past. Indeed he gives us scanty information about the monuments, beyond lamenting the disappearance of the Heliaea, Peripatos and Lyceum, and the pasturing of sheep among the ruins of the Poecile. One allusion, however, shows that the choragic monument of Lysicrates had already become "the Lantern of Demosthenes" (ὁ Δημοσθένους λύχνος). The Acropolis was already a fortress, and apparently the only defensible part of the city, but it was also the ecclesiastical center. Here the bishop lived, though whether in the Propylaea or in the complex of buildings which seem to have clustered about the Erechtheum and the Parthenon is quite uncertain. Both these temples had long before been transformed into churches and the latter was the cathedral or μεγάλη ἐκκλησία, dedicated still to the Virgin of Athens. Acominatus was naturally proud of his splendid church, and refers to its decorations, some of which were due to the gifts of the Emperor Basil II, to its famous lamp, which according to the Icelandic pilgrim of 1102, Saewulf, was fed by a never failing supply of oil, and especially to a golden dove which ever circled about the cross

[4] It has recently been shown that Michael's surname is *Choniates*, not, as previously accepted, *Acominatus*. See G. Stadtmüller, "Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen (*ca.* 1138–*ca.* 1222)," *Orientalia Christiana*, XXXIII[2], No. 91, 1934, pp. 274–278; M. Wellnhofer, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXV[1], 1935, p. 107; Setton, "A Note on Michael Choniates," *Speculum*, XXI, No. 2, 1946, p. 234; *idem*, *Catalans*, p. 106.

[5] He was born in the Phrygian Chonae, about 4 km. from Colossae. Stadtmüller, p. 138.

[6] Georgios Burtzes, the predecessor of Michael in the see, died in February, 1180. Michael therefore presumably did not come to Athens before that date, and sources examined a few years ago all point to his having been called there in 1182. See *ibid.*, pp. 279–281; Wellnhofer, *loc. cit.*; Setton, *loc. cit.*, p. 235. For an account of Athens as Michael knew it see Miller, pp. 64–66; Stadtmüller, *loc. cit.*, pp. 147–149; Setton, *Speculum*, 1944, pp. 187–204. Michael, with some wanderings, spent the greater part of his life after 1204 in the island of Ceos, and is said to have visited Athens once in 1216. He died at Boudinitza (Mutinitza), probably in 1222. Stadtmüller, pp. 181–212; Setton, *Speculum*, 1946, pp. 235–236.

on the high altar.[7] All this is vague enough; we must still wait two hundred years for a western traveler to attempt an account of the remains of the ancient city, and during this interval many changes had taken place.

In the division of the Greek empire among the Crusaders, which followed the sack of Constantinople in 1204, Greece was assigned to the king of Thessalonica, the Lombard leader, Boniface of Montferrat, who without delay proceeded to occupy his kingdom. Acominatus wisely declined a hopeless resistance, and the prompt surrender of Athens seems to have been attended with no further violence than the plundering of the Parthenon and the dispersal of the episcopal library, which apparently was contained in two cupboards in the church. Boniface gave Thebes and Athens as a fief to a Burgundian noble, Othon de la Roche, who took the title of *Dominus Athenarum,* which his Greek subjects translated as *Megaskyr*. His nephew and successor, Guy, was created duke by Louis IX of France.

The capital, as in Byzantine days, was at Thebes, and we hear little of Athens. The feudal system and the Latin church were naturally established, but the Greeks were not oppressed, and their priests remained, though the sees and revenues were given to the Roman clergy. The Parthenon, or Notre-Dame d'Athènes, then became the cathedral of a French archbishop, with a chapter and services according to the use of Paris, while later we find that Pope Nicholas IV granted indulgences to those who visited Santa Maria di Atene on certain festivals. Papal documents show that Pope Innocent III confirmed the ancient privileges of the Athenian diocese and likewise that the Dukes frequently paid very little attention to the claims of their clergy. The religious orders followed the Roman church. Daphni was given to Cistercians from Burgundy, and we hear of Franciscans at the foot of Hymettus. Thebes, however, as the capital, was the seat of a splendid court. So much is clear from the glimpse we get of the brilliant display that marked the admission to knighthood of Guy II at the end of the century, while scattered allusions show that the French in Greece maintained a high reputation for chivalry and their castles formed a school to which nobles at home gladly sent their sons for training in knightly arts.

Under its new rulers the country evidently prospered, and at the end of the century a Spanish noble found the Duke of Athens barely inferior to a king in wealth and splendor. At the height of its power a single day destroyed this French feudal state. The Duke, Walter of Brienne, had quarreled with the Catalan Company, a dangerous band of mercenaries, and on March 15, 1311, he attacked them at Lake Copais. The battle was a complete victory for the Catalans. The Duke

[7] Saewulf, *Recueil de voyages et mémoires,* ed. Armand d'Avezac (Paris: Société de Géographie, IV, 1839), p. 834. It is not certain that Saewulf himself went to Athens, for after recording his arrival at Negroponte, he continues: Athenas etenim ubi apostolus Paulus predicavit, distat duas dietas a latere Corinthiae unde beatus Dionysius ortus est, et doctus, et postmodum a beato Paulo ad Deum conversus: ibi est ecclesia beatae Virginis MARIAE, in qua est oleum in lampade semper ardens sed nunquam deficiens.

fell, and the French duchy was not so much conquered as completely blotted out. The Catalans were masters of Thebes and Athens, and divided without opposition the spoils of the fallen. Their neighbors, however, including the powerful Venetians, were hostile, and being themselves under the ban of the Pope, they naturally turned to their nominal feudal lord, Frederick of Sicily, of the house of Aragon. He accepted the dukedom for his son, and for seventy-five years Spanish viceroys governed Athens.

The Catalans were rude soldiers, seldom knights, and there was doubtless much plundering and oppression before the new state was fairly organized. Later the Greeks were evidently well treated; at least, a Greek notary is found fighting bravely for the Catalans and especially recommended to King Pedro IV of Aragon for his services. Documents at Palermo and Barcelona throw much light on the details of Catalan organization, but naturally pass over the monuments in which we are interested. It seems clear also that the descendants of the conquerors did not inherit their military ability, for before the end of the century the Catalans were so hard pressed by another set of mercenaries, the Navarrese, that they burned the castle at Thebes, and appealed to King Pedro IV of Aragon for aid to defend the Acropolis. The reply of the king, himself a troubadour, is significant; he promises aid and eulogizes Athens and its monuments, which form, he declares, such a jewel as no king of Europe has in his crown; at the same time his queen, Sybilla, wrote to the archbishop, now a Spaniard, to ask for some of the precious relics in the Parthenon.

It is interesting to see that under the Catalans the Acropolis was at last able to stand a siege, and it is not improbable that with other fortifications they built on the south wing of the Propylaea the tower which is so conspicuous in views of the Acropolis before 1878. An attack of Navarrese mercenaries was repelled in 1380, but five years later the Catalans were attacked by Nerio Acciaioli, one of the great Florentine family, who for some years had ruled Corinth and Nauplia. By January, 1387, he was master of Athens, but in the Acropolis the Catalan commander Pedro de Pau, though left without aid from Aragon, held out for over a year, and it is not till May, 1388, that a Florentine reports, "Messer Neri has the castle of Setines," the mediaeval corruption of τὰς Ἀθήνας, which lingered on into the seventeenth century.

The establishment of a Florentine Duke brought one great change. Nerio was friendly to the Greeks; the official language became Greek and the Greek Metropolitan after nearly two hundred years returned to Athens — a favor which that prelate seems to have requited by intriguing even with the Turks to expel the schismatic barbarians, so that Nerio again banished him. The Turks, however, had already occupied Thessaly, and Nerio found it expedient to pay a tribute to the Sultan, who left him otherwise independent. He died in 1394, and his will bequeathed the city of Athens to the Parthenon, Sta. Maria di Atene, and recom-

mended his duchy to the protection of Venice, evidently fearing the Turkish advance.

For seventy years before the Turkish conquest the Dukedom of Athens was held by the Acciaioli. They were in frequent correspondence with their kinsmen at home, and received Florentines and other Italian visitors at their court. Such visitors, influenced by the new spirit of the Renaissance, must have stimulated interest in the ancient monuments, and in fact four accounts of the antiquities, if such these brief notices may be called, have come down to us.[8] Their picture is obviously incomplete; but one point is clear, — the destruction of the ancient city had already been carried out. With no important exceptions, the monuments mentioned by these travellers were seen in much the same condition, so far as we can judge, by visitors two hundred years later, and, apart from the damage to the Acropolis in the siege of 1687, were drawn by Stuart in 1750. It is safe, I think, to say that ancient Athens was largely destroyed in the early days of the Eastern Empire, and in a perfectly peaceful, though unfortunately none the less thorough manner.

I am also inclined to attribute to this Florentine period and to antiquarian zeal, rather than to popular tradition, most of the attempts at identification of the monuments, which we shall meet with later. So far as I know, only the "Lantern of Demosthenes," the popular name of the monument of Lysicrates, is found before the Latin conquest.

The Acciaioli were vassals of the Sultan, but they paid their tribute regularly and avoided offense, until 1456, when a family quarrel, murders and general depravity gave Mohammed II a perfectly valid reason for deposing them and annexing their duchy, — a deed accomplished apparently with little effort and no harm to the city.

So began the Turkish rule which continued with scarcely an interruption for three hundred and seventy-five years. It was not at first the wretched mixture of corruption and outrage which we know too well. Under the great Sultans of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries administration was fairly efficient, and the Turkish government does not seem to have been much more oppressive and harsh than many of its western neighbors. Greece had been for a century and a half the scene of continual strife between its petty states, with its coasts plundered by pirates and its inhabitants carried off as slaves by the invading armies of the Sultan. The final Turkish conquest meant, for the common people at least, a large degree of quiet and relative security, while for the church it meant freedom from the bitterly hated Latin rule. Athens, we are told, was distinctly favored by the conqueror. The people were confirmed in their local rights and privileges, and the Sultan gave special orders to protect the buildings of the Acropolis. A conspiracy to restore the Duke in 1460 caused, so far as we can see, little change,

[8] See below, Appendix I.

though it is likely that the Parthenon, long the cathedral church, was then transformed into a mosque, and that the Acropolis, now a fortress, was closed to Christians.

Whatever the effect of the Turkish occupation on the people or the monuments, one result was the cessation of intercourse with western Europe. Never an important commercial center and no longer ruled by Italians, Athens was still further isolated by its distance from the ordinary trade routes to Smyrna and Constantinople by way of the Aegean islands, and from the course of the pilgrims to the Holy Land, which touched at Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus. So complete, in fact, was the obscurity in which it was enveloped that in 1575 the Tübingen professor, Martin Crusius, inquired of Greek correspondents, whether it was true that Athens was completely destroyed.[9] Two brief letters reassured him, but it must be admitted that however pleasing to their recipient, they do not help us much toward a picture of Athens under the Turks; for that we must wait another hundred years.

The seventeenth century saw a great development of French trade and influence in the Levant. Regular diplomatic relations were opened with the Porte, consulates were established in the Morea and later at Athens, missionaries settled at Constantinople and other places, and under Louis XIV France assumed her historic place of protector of the Christians in the East. All this turned men's thoughts once more toward Greece, and in 1669 the capture of Candia by the Turks, which ended the war with Venice, removed many of the hindrances that had hampered western travellers in the Levant. As a result of this greater freedom, in the next fifteen years more was written about Athens than during the fifteen preceding centuries, and for the greater part by men who had themselves visited the city.

The most distinguished of these visitors was the French Ambassador, Olier de Nointel,[10] who after completing some difficult negotiations at Constantinople, made a tour of the East, attended by a numerous retinue. He reached the city in November, 1674, and after a fortnight's stay made a short journey through northern Greece, and in December returned to his post at Constantinople. This visit to Athens owes its importance chiefly to the work of his artist (not Jacques Carrey), who without the aid of scaffolding and in an incredibly short time made

[9] Crusius (Martin Kraus), *Turco-Graecia* (Basle: 1584), Lib. VII, pp. 430, 461; Laborde, I, 55–59; L. Ross, *Jahrb. der Litteratur*, XC, 1840, *Anzeige-Blatt*, pp. 23–24. In one of these letters he was told that the city contained about 12,000 inhabitants, that the Acropolis, on which the Temple of the Unknown God was situated, was reserved exclusively for the Turks, while the Christians lived in the lower town, and that only about a third of the area of the ancient city was inhabited. His other correspondent dealt in generalities about the purity of the language and the air, and the beauty of the monuments, among which was the Pantheon (for Parthenon), decorated with sculptured scenes from Greek history and having in the pediment a group of horses by Praxiteles.

[10] See Vandal, pp. 162–175; Collignon, *Relation*, pp. 56–57.

careful drawings of a large part of the sculptures of the Parthenon, including both pediments, thirty-two metopes, and more than half of the frieze. In spite of numerous defects these drawings are far more valuable than any description, for they contain the only useful record of the decoration that was destined soon to perish.

Another result of this visit has in relatively recent times come to light. About fifteen years earlier, Jean Giraud of Lyon had been appointed consul at Athens. He married a Greek, one of the family of the Palaeologi, and though he lost his French appointment, was at once made English consul by the ambassador, Lord Winchelsea, and evidently spent the rest of his life in Athens. A man of some education, familiar with both ancient and modern languages, and interested in the geography and antiquities of the country, he gladly guided his infrequent visitors among the ruins, and Spon and Wheler, easily the most intelligent travellers of the time,[11] bear hearty testimony to his ready and valuable aid. Nointel intended

[11] In 1674 also there appeared in Lyon a little book, "Relation de l'état présent de la ville d'Athènes," containing a long letter written by a Jesuit missionary, Jacques Paul Babin, and now published with preface and notes by a young physician, Jacob Spon, who was interested in epigraphy and archaeology. He indicates in his preface (unnumbered paragraph) that he was responsible for a view of Athens that accompanied it, evidently by an artist who worked merely from a rough sketch. It is interesting only as the first view of Athens based, not upon pure fantasy, but on reality (Omont, p. 13, Pl. XXXVIII, upper left-hand corner). The topographical value of Babin's letter is not great, but it confirmed Spon in a determination to visit Athens. In France it was superseded by "Athènes ancienne et moderne," which appeared in Paris in 1675, quickly ran into a fourth edition, and was translated into English in 1676. It purported to record the experiences of a French gentleman, La Guilletière, who after a tour in Greece sent his notes to a brother in Paris, who edited them with the aid of the passages from ancient authors collected by the learned Meursius. In reality it was the work of one, Guillet de St.-George, who had never seen Athens, but had combined the reports of the Capuchins with a careful study of Meursius. As the earliest attempt to apply seriously the ancient authors to the interpretation of existing remains his efforts deserve high praise, but the romantic form (chosen in accordance with the taste of the time) as well as many other factors, make its present value hard to estimate. Guillet's lack of personal acquaintance with Athens led him into curious blunders. At the same time he made some acute observations. He was the first to identify correctly the Tower of the Winds and connect it with the Horologium of Andronicus described by Vitruvius. The plan, probably furnished by the Capuchins (Omont, pp. 14–15, Pl. XXXIX; as reproduced by Guillet, *idem*, p. 16, Pl. XL), is drawn as a bird's-eye view from the farther bank of the Ilissus (*idem*, p. 10, Pl. XXXI). Guillet has added a number of sites or ruins, where he was convinced that they should be indicated, though none could have been visible. The part of the city properly concealed behind the Acropolis has been transferred to the north, and thus the whole region northwest of the Acropolis has been violently distorted.

Shortly before the appearance of Guillet's book Spon and a young Englishman, Sir George Wheler, who joined him in Italy, went to Athens, which they made their headquarters from January 27 to March 9, 1676. In 1678 Spon published an account of his travels (Spon and Wheler, *A Journey into Greece*) with copies of numerous inscriptions and some rather poor illustrations. This work, which was practically translated by Wheler, though its plan of Athens (Omont, pp. 17–18, Pl. XLII, middle view) was far behind Guillet's, laid the foundations of a scientific Athenian topography. It was the earliest detailed study of the monuments by a man versed in ancient literature and with some idea of sound critical method. Mistakes, of course,

to publish a full account of his travels — an intention unfortunately never carried out, — and is said to have collected material on all sides. Naturally he turned to Giraud for information about ancient and modern Athens, and the scanty remnants of Nointel's notes preserved among the papers of the Abbé Fourmont contain two reports, which internal evidence shows are his work. The first, published some twenty years ago, is a rather brief and unintelligent account of the antiquities, still in almost complete bondage to the popular traditions and scarcely worthy of Giraud's reputation. The second, edited by the late Professor Collignon, is much more important.[12] It is a very detailed account of the islands of the Saronic Gulf, Attica, and especially of the city of Athens, — its size, population, government, products, commerce, including a complete record, not very long, of all the foreign vessels that had traded at the port since 1657. Comparison with contemporary publications shows that western travellers drew freely upon Giraud's knowledge, and even where they add new facts, we may well suspect that he is still their source.

The little city lay chiefly to the north and northeast of the Acropolis, and contained about two thousand houses, of which six hundred were Turkish and only three Frank or foreign. It is interesting to note that nearly three hundred years before, when the city had fallen on very evil days, a traveller found only one thousand hearths. Giraud says that the population was seven thousand, of which two-thirds were Greek. This seems small for the number of houses, and Wheler's estimate of eight to ten thousand sounds more probable, especially as, when the Acropolis capitulated to the Venetians twelve years later, in spite of heavy losses during the bombardment, three thousand Turks, including the garrison, departed for Smyrna.

The government differed little, if at all, from that usual in European Turkey. There was a Voivode or governor, a Cadi or Judge, and commanders for the Janissaries and Spahis, that is for the regular infantry and cavalry. The troops, however, were very few in number, and the indications are that these offices were sought by the Turks of the neighborhood more for the title and prestige than for profit. The Acropolis was a purely military post under the exclusive control of the commandant, or Disdar, with a garrison of about one hundred and fifty soldiers chiefly from the neighborhood. They made their rounds at night on the walls with prodigious shouting and uproar, in order that pirates or other robbers might observe their vigilance and keep away from the city. Giraud thought that this command brought but small profit and that the Disdar would fare poorly, had he not private means. He seems to have held his post during good behavior,

abound and some of them are perverse, but such are exceptional. The influence of the book was lasting. For over a century all discussion of Athenian topography rested on Spon.

[12] Collignon, *Giraud;* cf. pp. 5–8 on the "Relation des antiquités d'Athènes dans l'estat qui se treuve à présent," ed. Collignon, *Relation.*

— if that term may be permitted, — at any rate, when Giraud wrote, the incumbent had been in office for twenty years. We know from other sources that there was a change in the following year.

The Voivode, who was the civil governor, was appointed for a year. He bought his position for a considerable sum, which varied according to the competition. This does not imply bribery. The practice was rather akin to farming taxes. The official paid to his superior a lump sum in lieu of the revenues of his district. He then collected the taxes, paid his subordinates — so far as he had not sold them their places on similar terms, — and kept the balance for himself as salary. This method saved the government the trouble and expense of collecting, and it made tax-dodging uncommonly hard; in other respects the merits of the system are invisible. The Cadi took the court fees and also 10% on any judgments collected in his court. He also fixed maximum wages and market prices. The Voivode had charge of the taxes, and the list given by Giraud is formidable. Almost every occupation and product was liable, and while in some cases the sums were fixed, at least theoretically, most often the law called for a certain percentage, so that the openings for extortion were numerous and large. Giraud gives a highly illuminating example. Produce usually paid tithes. From the Turks one part in ten was justly collected, but from the Greeks generally two parts in fifteen, and in the case of oil one in eight. This difference does not appear to have excited comment; it was the natural discrimination between Moslems and non-Moslems. But the Voivode had further methods of securing profits. His collection in kind gave him a large stock of wheat, barley, and oil. By threats and three days in prison for the chief men, he forced the Greeks to take the grain, pro rata, at nearly double the market price, and at a very similar advance compelled the dealers of Cephissia, Thebes, and Negroponte to take two thousand measures of oil. Profiteering was simple in those days, — and unashamed.

As to the condition of the people Giraud does not tell us much, though we learn that the land was largely held by the Turks, while the vineyards and olive groves generally belonged to Greeks. The latter to avoid the troubles that might easily befall them in the Turkish court had organized a board of *"Epitropi,"* chosen from the oldest and richest families, who so far as possible regulated the affairs of the Christian community and were aided in this by the church. The Albanians lived in the surrounding country and had once owned much of the land about their villages, but being poor and heavily taxed, they had been compelled to borrow of the wealthy Turks at high interest and on the security of their land. What followed can easily be imagined. The Turks foreclosed their mortgages, secured the land at absurdly low figures, and reduced the Albanians to tenants. The Albanians, like their descendants, were sturdy, robust men, and according to Giraud, furnished the highway robbers of Greece. About twenty years earlier a band of one hundred and twenty under two skilful leaders had

held Attica in terror, plundering their Greek captives and beheading all Turks. They defeated a force of five hundred Athenians, took refuge on Mt. Hymettus, and finally, on hearing that an army was to be sent against them, succeeded in summoning part of the Venetian fleet to Porto Raphti and, embarking with much cattle, took service with the Republic against the Turks.

All this suggests to us a wretched and oppressed people, yet Athens was not considered an unfortunate or especially misgoverned city. Wheler remarks, "I have seen but few Towns in Turky, that have preserved themselves so well as this, nor that enjoy greater Priviledges under the tyranny of the Turks"; and the Athenians, so far as we can judge, regarded themselves as rather unusually well off. The reason for this optimistic view was that some thirty years earlier the Greeks, finding that the privileges conferred at the conquest or later purchased were disregarded, raised a large sum of money and succeeded in placing the city under the direct control of one of the highest officers of the court, the Kizlar Agha, the chief of the black eunuchs, who guarded the Sultan's Seraglio. He now named the Voivode and influenced, if he did not determine, the choice of the other high officers. Moreover he seems to have felt that his honor, or at any rate his interest, required that he should protect his people. Wheler, who visited Athens a year after Giraud's report, shows how effective this protection might be. The new Voivode had started energetically to recoup himself for the cost of his position. Aided by the Disdar in the Acropolis and by some other Turks, he had disregarded old customs and piled ever new exactions on the Greeks, until at last they sent two of their leading men with large presents to the Kizlar Agha. He gave ready ear to their complaint, heavily fined the Voivode, dismissed the Disdar, and sent some of the other culprits to the galleys. All of which much encouraged the Greeks and mortified the Turks.

This very summary sketch of conditions in Turkish Athens may help us to realize in some measure the surroundings of the ancient monuments, which are after all for us the chief interest. For our visit, however, we shall not take as our guide the consul Giraud nor the published narratives of more learned travellers, though we may sometimes turn to them for help, but a much more lively, if less well-informed person. We shall find him active, eager to see everything, deeply interested, but often very naïve in his comments and identifications, though I can match these latter with passages from much more recent travellers with much less excuse for their ignorance. After all he did not publish his journal, which was printed from a manuscript in Paris only a few years ago.[18]

In 1658 the French Capuchins established a mission in Athens, and eleven years later, in 1669, Father Simon of Compiègne bought the choragic monument of Lysicrates and the adjoining buildings for a convent, which long offered hospitality to foreign travellers (including Lord Byron), and even after the Greek

[18] See Pernot (Abbreviations); H. Omont, *R. ét. gr.*, XIV, 1901, pp. 270–282.

revolution, when the fathers had withdrawn, remained the property of the French government. Soon after his purchase Father Simon was visited by another Capuchin, Robert of Dreux, almoner of the French ambassador to the Porte, who had come from Larissa in Thessaly with letters from the ambassador to be forwarded to a French squadron at Melos. He had eagerly volunteered for this mission, as he had long wished to see the famous city, and his admirable spirit is shown in his account of his arrival.

When we approached Athens, I saw such beautiful antiquities that I forgot at once all my discomforts in the mountains, and profiting by the opportunity of learning from so intelligent a man as M. Palaeologus, I informed myself about everything which seemed to me especially remarkable, and that I might recognize them when I went to see them at my leisure, I noted their position by the aid of a little compass.

Of course he took up his abode at the convent, where he found an old acquaintance in Father Simon, and after arranging for the transmission of his dispatches, began his sight-seeing under the guidance of his friend, who, however, assured him that he could not hope to see anything in or close to the Acropolis, since it was inhabited solely by Turks, who were not so civilized as those of Constantinople and threw stones at any Christians who approached. We can easily illustrate his wanderings, partly from a few contemporary plans and drawings, and partly from the work of Stuart,[14] nearly a hundred years later, since the monuments in general seem to have suffered comparatively little change, — at least so far as we can judge.

To turn now to our traveller. His friend naturally began by showing him the convent,[15] which was on the site of the house of Demosthenes, and still contained a fine marble room, roofed by a single slab and decorated with a frieze in relief "of admirable delicacy." Father Simon told him that the house had been sold with the condition that all visitors should have free access to see this room, which was "one of the most beautiful and perfect of the antiquities in the city." The choragic monument of Lysicrates had been known since the twelfth century as the "Lantern of Demosthenes," and identified with the secret chamber to which the orator was said to have retired for study.

Leaving the convent Father Robert was taken to "the ruins of the superb palace of Theseus,[16] the brave leader who shared with Jason the glory of carrying off the golden fleece." Only 10 or 12 columns (really there were at least 17) of 366 were left. The palace had been originally built on top of the columns. The Olympieum had long been considered the palace of Hadrian, and in fact was not identified until the next century. The name of Theseus seems a slip of memory. Near by was a fine gate, which Father Robert naturally thought the remains of the entrance. "We then went to the temple of Juno, which the Christians trans-

[14] Stuart, I, unnumbered plate between pp. 2 and 3.
[15] *Idem*, I, Ch. IV. Pl. I.
[16] Omont, p. 6, Pl. XXII.

formed into a church of the Virgin, but later abandoned because it had been profaned by the Turks." This is the little Ionic temple on the Ilissus, drawn by Stuart 350 years later[17] and destroyed when the new city wall was built in 1778. Our narrative shows that its abandonment was not due, as was reported, to the Latin mass celebrated in it for the Marquis de Nointel.[18] The remains of a Franciscan convent were shown him and also a well built bridge, though it sounds very natural to hear that there was no trace of a stream beneath. These remains also disappeared when the new wall was built. The stadium is not mentioned.

Returning into the town the visitor saw the remains of several fine palaces, including those of the Polemarch and Themistocles (the gate of the Roman agora[19] and the Stoa of Hadrian[20]). Then he was taken to the monument to Socrates, erected by the repentant Athenians, and decorated with the figures of the winds to symbolize the fickleness of those who had condemned the great philosopher.[21] All this is as old as the fifteenth century, and appears in Giraud and other contemporaries. It springs, I think, from a determination to attach every conspicuous ruin to some great name, rather than to any genuine survival of strictly popular tradition. It seems to me to smack too strongly of Renaissance learning for that.

This evidently ended the morning's sight-seeing, and also Father Simon's acquaintance with Athenian antiquities. Father Robert, was, however, convinced that there was a good deal more worth attention, and so, as he says, "seeing that my companion had not yet seen them, although he had been three years in the country, because he had not dared venture, I determined to go alone, without saying anything to him, trusting that the good luck, which had accompanied me everywhere, would not desert me in this need." He therefore secured from a Frenchman long a resident of Athens (this must be Giraud) a list of the chief sights; then, trusting to his little compass, he gave his friend the slip after dining with the consul, and started down a street that he thought would lead to a temple, which he had noticed as he entered the city from Larissa. Ill-mannered Turkish children pursued him with shouts and stones, but he hurried on, and finally emerged near his temple, which he found nearly perfect, and surrounded by a fine colonnade. The doors were fastened, but he was told that it had been dedicated to Theseus, but was now the church of St. George.[22] A large white object in a neighboring field proved to be a huge marble lion, couchant, with a Greek inscription, "I can sleep in security while my companions watch," referring to the lions at Piraeus and on the Acropolis.

To a French priest the house of Dionysius the Areopagite, long since identified with St. Denis of France, was naturally of the greatest interest, and as he had

[17] Stuart, III, Ch. VII, Pl. I.
[18] Laborde, I, p. 126, note 1.
[19] Stuart, I, Ch. I, Pl. I.
[20] *Idem*, I, Ch. V, Pl. I.
[21] *Idem*, Ch. III, Pl. I.
[22] *Idem*, III, Ch. I, Pl. I.

been told that it was not far from the Areopagus, Father Robert now went in that direction, and soon came to a large house in the court of which he found a ruined chapel and an altar. As he was leaving, a Greek priest called him back, and informed him that this was now the residence of the Metropolitan, but had once been the house of St. Dionysius, to whom the ruined chapel was dedicated. The Turks refused to allow the Greeks to repair the building, but a service was still held there on the Saint's day, to which the French in Athens were especially invited, and the seat of honor was given to the consul. He was also shown a well in which the Saint had hidden the Apostle Paul from his persecutors. An invitation to call on the Metropolitan was declined by Father Robert on the ground of lack of familiarity with the language.

The courageous explorer next visited what he calls the Areopagus, "that most famous college of the world, which has been the seminary of the fairest sciences," or the Odeum of Herodes Atticus. The identification is found in other writings of the time, though some authorities saw in these ruins the remains of the School of Aristotle and in the Stoa of Eumenes the place where the Peripatetics walked. The Father's examination of the site was interrupted by the Turks of the Acropolis, who, when he paid no attention to their shouts, threw stones at him. He therefore proceeded to the "temple of Pan," now dedicated to the Virgin; that is, to the choragic monument of Thrasyllus[23] and the church, which still exists, in the cave behind. He noticed above the temple the two columns, which he thought of jasper, and the solar quadrant.

At this point the conspicuous monument of Philopappus[24] naturally attracted his attention, and he crossed over to the Museum hill to examine it. "I recognized that it was the trophy of Theseus, whom I saw represented on his triumphal chariot." And now Father Robert nearly fell into serious trouble. An old Turk came up, and in spite of a polite greeting from the priest, accused him of being a spy, whom he had watched as he examined the strong and weak parts of the defences of the Acropolis. This was embarrassing as Father Robert could not speak the language well enough to defend himself; but fortunately an Albanian appeared, who recognized the Capuchin dress and undertook his defence. During the dispute Father Robert quietly slipped away down a street that led to the convent, where he was warmly welcomed by his host, who had been much worried at his absence.

That evening our friend dined with the Greek, Paleologus, who had brought him to Athens. It was a very fine entertainment, but one custom greatly troubled Father Robert. To mark their sense of the complete hospitality of their host, the guests after drinking threw their empty glasses into the air. "Never have I seen so many broken glasses." Finally only a beautiful Venetian goblet remained unharmed, and when his host called for that, the guest could restrain himself no

[23] Stuart, II, Ch. IV, Pl. I. [24] *Idem*, III, Ch. V, Pl. I; Omont, pp. 8–9. Pl. XXIX.

longer. He asked to examine it, praised its beauty, and then begged leave to fill and circulate it to the health of the King of France. When it returned to him, he entreated his host as a special favor to preserve it carefully in memory of the occasion and of the toast to which it had been filled. "And thus I saved from shipwreck this beautiful glass." Later he told the company that he would be perfectly satisfied with his visit, if he had only seen the temple dedicated to the "Unknown God," that is, the Parthenon. Thereupon the consul and the other guests decided to send a present to the Disdar, and ask permission to visit the Acropolis. After some trouble this was secured, and as the commandant was at the time in the lower town, he sent a ring to be shown to the guard and orders to admit the stranger and six friends.

We hear nothing about the Propylaea on this occasion. For all that the visitors passed through there Father Robert had no eyes.

> As soon as we had entered, I hastened to satisfy the ardent desire which I had to see this famous temple, and I recognized that my desire was just and reasonable; for although the Romans, when they were masters of Athens, carried off all the best things, they could not carry away the admirable sculptures which surround this temple, because they are so embedded in the entablature that they cannot be removed without breaking them to pieces.

Of the interior we are only told that as the Turks had turned it into a mosque, it was therefore quite bare, though the steps from choir to nave and the site of the Christian altar were still visible, "I remained so completely satisfied that I did not try to see any more antiquities."

It was high time that the monuments of Athens should be drawn by so skilful an artist as the painter of Nointel, and described by so careful an observer as Spon. In 1684, after the relief of Vienna by Sobieski, Venice, the Empire, Poland, and the Pope formed a Holy League to press the war against the Porte. The Venetian army, as was then usual, contained only a few Italian troops; most of the men were hired by regiments from some of the smaller German states — such as Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse, — and there were also a few Swedes and French. The captain-general was Francesco Morosini, who had long defended Candia in the recent war. In 1685 he landed at Coron in Peloponnesus with about eight thousand men, supported by a strong fleet. He was successful from the first, for the best Turkish troops were fighting the Imperialists in Hungary, and when in the following year the Swedish field-marshal, Count Königsmark, took command under him on land, the progress was so rapid that in August, 1687, the Venetians were practically masters of all the Peloponnesus. The season was considered too far advanced to attack Negroponte, the strongest Turkish position in Greece, and it was decided to attempt Athens with a view to securing a large contribution, though this plan was soon changed to one of conquest.

The possibility of a raid on Athens had been foreseen by the Turks, who took

measures to strengthen the fortifications of the Acropolis by building a new bastion below the Propylaea with material from the temple of Nike, and by extending the defences on the south so as to include the Odeum and the Stoa of Eumenes. During these years a French commission under Gravier d'Ortières[25] was visiting the ports of the Levant to study the needs of the French merchants, and at the same time to make careful plans and drawings of all fortifications and interesting monuments. Among their drawings is one showing the Acropolis as prepared to resist the Venetians. It is an engineer's mechanical production, but the contrast with the earlier view is striking. These fortifications remained until after the Greek revolution, and are well shown in Stuart's plate, taken from somewhat farther north, while the effect on the Propylaea appears in drawings by Stuart and Kinnard.[26]

It may be well to note here that about 1640 the Propylaea had been partially destroyed by an explosion. The Aga had planned to bombard the little church of St. Demetrius in the hollow between the Pnyx and Museum, but that night lightning struck the building, the powder magazine exploded, and the Aga and all his family, except one daughter who was visiting friends in the lower town, perished. The church — or the Saint — was afterwards called "St. Demetrius the Bombardier."

On the morning of September 21 the Venetians disembarked at Piraeus and by the 23rd their batteries were in position to attack the Acropolis, whither the Turks had retreated with all their possessions, while the Greeks had received the invaders with joy. There is no need to enter into a full account of the siege. At first the attack naturally centered on the bastions below the Propylaea, and equally naturally it produced little effect on those massive terraces. An attempt to drive a mine under the walls on the north side made slow progress in the limestone. The mortars did little execution beyond starting a small fire among the houses, and in fact many bombs were so badly directed that they cleared the Acropolis and fell in the town on the other side, causing very natural wrath among the troops and the inhabitants. To avoid this a new mortar battery was placed to the east, in the quarter occupied by the Lüneburg contingent. Hither a deserter is said to have brought the news that the Turks had stored their powder in the Parthenon, and consequently this at once became the target. As a matter of fact only a small supply of powder for immediate use was there, though the strength of the roof and the Turkish belief that the Christians would spare a former church, had led the garrison to place their valuables and many of the women and children within. After a number of failures, on the evening of September 26, 1687, a bomb fell through the roof (the account says through an opening), and the ex-

[25] Laborde, II, pp. 55–60.

[26] Stuart, II, Ch. V, Pl. I; W. Kinnard, Stuart, *Suppl.*, No. 2.

plosion of the powder thus ignited wrought irreparable injury to the Parthenon.[27] The loss of life was heavy and the fire raged for two days among the crowded houses, destroying supplies as well as causing further deaths. A few days later the Turks surrendered on favorable terms.

In the following months a swarm of little books described the victories of Venice, and frequently illustrated them, usually with variations of Spon's plan. These are works without significance. The Venetian engineers,[28] however made some careful surveys, and when in 1707 Fanelli published his *Atene Attica,* he based his illustrations on these plans and drawings.[29] For some his book is the only authority; of others the originals are still preserved in Venice.

[27] For further details of the bombing see J. M. Paton, *The Venetians in Athens, 1687–1688* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1940), pp. 69–70.

[28] Cf. Verneda, View of Athens, in Omont, pp. 11–12, Pl. XXXIV; Laborde, II, 172.

[29] F. Fanelli, *Atene Attica* (Venice: 1707), pp. 112, 308; Omont, p. 12, Pl. XXXVI, both upper and lower views.

CHAPTER II

Descriptions and Brief Notices of Athens

I

ARISTARCHUS (?)

PROBABLY the earliest and certainly the most bizarre of the notices about Athens during the middle ages is that attributed to a Greek chronographer, Aristarchus, who is known, thus far, only from the *Passio Sancti Dionysii* (or *Areopagitica*) by the Abbot Hilduin of St. Denis, outside of Paris, and from a letter cited in a sermon, of which apparently the sole existing codices are one of the twelfth or early thirteenth century in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and two manuscripts used by the Bollandists, according to the life of the saint in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

The Abbey of St. Denis possessed the relics of the saint and was the center of his cult in France. In September, 827, Michael the Stammerer sent to Louis the Pious at Compiègne a manuscript of the Greek works of the Pseudo-Dionysius, which on October 8 was transferred to the Abbey with great rejoicing.[1] Its value was attested by a number of miracles wrought by the saint. When Louis, after his temporary deposition, was restored to his throne in 834, a ceremony was held at St. Denis, and he then by letter ordered Hilduin to prepare a detailed life of the saint based on all available sources. Hilduin between 827 and 834[2] appears to have studied and translated the works of St. Denis, always with the belief, of which no earlier trace has yet been discovered, that Dionysius the Areopagite and St. Denis of Paris were one and the same person.[3] From the King's letter to Hilduin it is evident that a first draft, *libellus passionis*, had already been prepared.[4] In 835 or shortly after, Hilduin sent to the King his work accompanied by a letter in which he gives a full account of his sources and completely develops

[1] Bibl. Nat., *Fonds grec 437* (from the collection of Henri de Mesmes). See Omont, "Manuscrit des oeuvres de S. Denis l'Aréophagite envoyé de Constantinople à Louis le Debonnaire en 827," *R. ét. gr.*, XVII, 1904, pp. 233–235; on the ceremony at St. Denis, *ibid.*, pp. 230, 232–233.

[2] P. G. Théry, O.P., "Le texte intégral de la traduction du Pseudo-Denis," *R. d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXI, 1925, pp. 213–214. Hilduin's translation of the Pseudo-Dionysius is placed probably between 831 and 834.

[3] Théry, "Contribution à l'histoire de l'Aréopagitisme au ixe siècle," *Moyen Age*, 2e Série, XXV, mai-août, 1923, pp. 113–124.

[4] Théry, "Hilduin et la première traduction des écrits du Pseudo-Denis," *R. d'histoire de*

the theory, later very generally accepted, that the Areopagite was the first bishop of Paris. It is clear that he had no previous authority for this theory, nor does he seem to have had any Greek or Latin source for the early life of the Areopagite except his gleanings from the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius.[5] Among his sources he cites a letter of "Aristarchus, Graecorum chronographus," addressed to "Onesiphorus primicerius," about whom nothing further is at present known; nor has the Greek text of the letter come to light, although Hilduin asserts that it was at the Abbey and available to students.

Obviously the account of Athens is wholly fanciful, and could hardly have emanated from any Athenian — unless we may suppose a formidable growth of local legend by the ninth century. That Hilduin and the Abbey manufactured sources has been amply demonstrated; and that the letter shows no personal acquaintance with Athens on the part of the writer adds to its appearance of having been evolved in the seclusion of a monastic library.[6] Its frequent verbal similarity with the *Passio* suggests that it is an abbreviated form of the latter text.

I

HILDUIN. PASSIO S. DIONYSII

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Mss. lat., 2873 A, fol. 14v–16r[7]

— Beatus Paulus apostolus . . . peragrans superiores & vicinas civitates, tempore quo princeps Claudius agebat in sceptris devenit Athenas.

Quae una urbium magnarum metropolis in confinio Traciae prospiciens Lacedemoniae terminos posita, media inter Achaiam & Macedoniam iacet; qua nihil habuit Gretia clarius. Situ terrarum eminentibus & frequentibus collibus montuosa; antiqua scriptorum facundia; paterna viscera & materna ubera appellata, *I*onici maris faucibus bitalassi more interclusa, Aegeum pelagus a leva contigit. Urbs inclyta & antiqua, sola praeter externum incrementum gloriosa. Cuius civibus non dedit inicium conlectata nativitas, sed quae illis sedes eadem est & origo. Terrarum fertilitate opulenta, fandi &

l'église de France, IX, 1923, pp. 25–27; Léon Levillain, "Etudes sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne" (*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes,* 82. Paris: 1921); pp. 36–40, 58.

[5] A manuscript of Dionysius sent to Pepin by Pope Paul I about 758 does not seem to have been known to Hilduin; see Théry, *loc. cit.,* pp. 23, 30.

[6] E.g. *idem, loc. cit.,* pp. 34–38; *Moyen Age, loc. cit.,* pp. 119–123, 149; Levillain, *loc. cit.,* pp. 33–35. Hilduin also composed a metrical version of the *Passio,* which is thought to be preserved in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *2445 Athens,* 199 r–217 v; see Théry *R. d'hist. eccl., loc. cit.,* pp. 211–214.

[7] Reprinted by Wachsmuth, I, pp. 47–48, from Galeni, *Areopagitica 1563,* Cap. III, fols. 81–82; Migne, *P.L.,* 106; cols. 25–26.

In this manuscript when the end of a sentence falls at the end of a line the copyist begins the next line with a capital in red in the margin. These capitals are indicated by an italicized letter in the text published below.

eloquentiae nutrix, philosophorum & sapientium genetrix, artium liberalium & (*fol. 15r*) divitiarum omnium copia, prae urbibus cunctis emicuit. Haec sita est in Attica Elladis provintia, qua Cicrops & Menander reges generosi splenduerunt, ubi Apollo & Hippocratis ac Aristotelis ceterique inventores & propagatores tocius peritiae sunt exorti, & in toto orbe suis praesentia & temporibus nostris memoria fulgent. *I*n hac summopere urbe temporibus Cicropis & Menandri regumque succedentium, cultus simulacrorum & statuarum adoratio, idolorumque superstitiosa religio primo est reperta, & sanctionibus propalata. *H*aec quoque in provectu sui est Minervae sacrata & ipsi eius de nomine nomen aptatum. Haec prima cunctarum urbium leges condidit, & aliis iura vel tradidit vel mutuavit. Quinque sane regionibus disterminata signatur. Prima regio est quae Aegeum mare respicit, in qua situs mons extat supereminens urbi, ubi Saturni & Priapi aureae statuae variarum inlusionum colebantur dementiis. Haec enim regio Kronos pagus appellatur ex Saturni nomine, qui Grece Kronos vocatur. Secunda regio Athenae est quae respicit Thraciam, ubi Terebintus mirae magnitudinis inerat, sub qua Silvani & Fauni agrestis hominis simulachra statutis diebus a pastoribus venerabantur. Quae regio Panos pagus appellatur, ex nomine Silvani & Fauni; Graeci enim Silvanum Pan & Faunos ficarios Panitas vocitant. Tertia regio Possedonos pagus appellatur, quae (*fol. 15v*) intendit portum Neptuni; Possedon namque Grece Neptunus dicitur. *C*uius simulachrum & Diane effigiem Aegei ibidem colebant, & quo recursus totius populi luna renascente in multis functionibus confluebat. Quarta regio in eadem urbe est, ubi idolum Martys & simulachrum Herculis in colle tritonii montis in medio urbis positi steterat, ad colendum multis immolationibus & delusionibus Martem & Herculem, quos illi deos maximos & fortissimos adorabant, ubi etiam exercebantur iudicia, & docebantur fora, ingeniique omnis sollertia. Qui locus Ariipagus appellatur a Marte; Mars enim Aris Grece vocatur. Quinta regio civitatis eiusdem versa est ad portam Scheamermis pagus ex nomine Mercurii, qui Ermis Grece dicitur, appellata. In qua staticulum ipsius Mercurii veneratione sui mente ceperat urbem. Haec civitas munitissimis moeniis, mare florido, mellitis ut dictum sit rivulis & fluminibus satis pinguissimis, nemoribus consitis & aromatibus odoratis, vinetis nectariis, & ubertatis copia effluentibus, olivetis habundantissimis, virectis florentibus, pascuis pecoribus sufficientissimis, auri, argenti ceterorumque metallorum omnium copiis, *n*avium quoque ac vectigalium commeatibus & voluptatum cunctarum affluentiis ultra urbes alias exornata quondam nobilissime (*fol. 16r*) floruit. Sed quae suo priori secolo cunctis mundi felicitatibus supererat, modo gentium frequenti & condenso impetu oppressa & intercapta dirimitur.

2

Letters of Louis the Pious and Hilduin

Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolarum V; Karolini Aevi III

(1) *Epistolae Variorum*, 19, pp. 325–327 (MS. Cheltenham)

Letter of Louis the Pious to Hilduin directing him to prepare an account of the life and miracles of St. Dionysius.

After dwelling at some length on the devotion of the king and his predecessors to St. Denis, and on the favors that he has bestowed upon them and especially

on Louis himself in enabling him to resume his royal power, he continues with the following passage.

(p. 327) Idcirco, venerabilis custos ac cultor ipsius provisoris et adiutoris nostri, domni Dionysii, monere te volumus, ut quicquid de eius notitia ex Grecorum hystoriis per interpretationem sumptum, vel quod ex libris ab eo patrio sermone conscriptis et auctoritatis nostrae iussione ac tuo sagaci studio interpretumque sudore in nostram linguam explicatis, huic negotio inseri fuerit congruum, quaeque etiam in Latinis codicibus iam inde habes inventum, adiuncta ea quae in libello passionis ipsius continentur, necnon et illa quae in tomo cartis vetustissimis armario Parisiacae ecclesiae, sacrae videlicet sedis suae, prolatas inveneras et obtutibus sollertiae nostrae serenitatis ostenderas secundum quod rerum, causarum etiam et temporum, convenientiam noveris, in corpus unum redigas atque uniformem textum exinde componas, quatenus devotis compendiosius valeant innotesci, et fastidiosis minusve capacibus vel studiosis lectionis possit tedium sublevari pariterque omnibus aedificationis utilitas provideri.

The work is also to contain the vision of Pope Stephen, other miracles of the Saint, and hymns.

(2) *Epistolae Variorum*, 20, pp. 327–335 (MS. Cheltenham)

The reply of Hilduin to the above letter of Louis the Pious.

(p. 328) After thanking the King for ordering "ut adnuntiem praeconia domini mei gloriosissimi martyris Dionisii," and promising to present all he has found "tam in Graecis quam in Latinis codicibus ex domno et patrono nostro Dyonisio," he gives an account of the sources he has used.

(p. 329, ch. 3) Genere siquidem eum nobilissimum et philosophiae magisterio insignem apud Athenas claruisse et aliarum historiarum et apostolorum actuum testimonio saecula prisca seu instantia cognoverunt: maxime autem ex historia Aristarchi Graecorum chronografi, qui in epistola ad Onesiforum primicerium de situ Athenae civitatis et gestis ibidem apostolorum temporibus scribens, ortum prosapiae et doctrinam eius atque conversionis ordinem sive aetatis tempus, necnon et ordinationem ipsius ac predicationem, subrogationem etiam episcopi in loco suo, et adventum illius Romam ordinabiliter narrat. Quam epistolam vestrae dominationi dirigimus, et quisque studiosus apud nos prevalet invenire. Curiosus autem ex Grecorum fontibus, unde et nos illam sumpsimus, poterit mutuare. Quod enim ante conversionem suam Heliopolim astrologiae gratia migraverit, ubi et tenebras in crucifixione salvatoris nostri una cum Apollofanio sodali suo vidit, et quia tunc viginti et quinque erat annorum, ipse in epistolis ad Policarpum Smyrneorum episcopum, et ad eundem Apollofanium missis ostendit.

There follow references to various church fathers who have spoken of Dionysius as a convert of St. Paul, as bishop of Athens, and husband of Damaris.

(p. 330, ch. 4) Ceterum de notitia librorum eius, quos patrio sermone conscripsit, et quibus petentibus illos composuit, lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem,

cuius dispositione interpretatos scrinia nostra eos petentibus reserant, satisfacit. Autenticos namque eosdem libros, Greca lingua conscriptos, quando echonomus ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae et ceteri missi Michaelis legatione publica ad vestram gloriam Compendio functi sunt (827 A.D.) in ipsa vigilia sollemnitatis sancti Dionysii (Oct. 8) pro munere magno suscepimus . . .

(Ch. 5) The commission from Pope Clemens, the martyrdom, the cephalophoria, and the burial by Catulla "libellus antiquissimus passionis eiusdem explanat."

Praecipue tamen conscriptio Visbii, quae in tomo satis superque abdito Parisius divino est nutu inventa, inter alia memoranda, sicut in ea legitis, verba domini nostri Iesu Christi ad eum prolata, quando sacra mysteria perageret illi cunctis videntibus apparentis, continere dinoscitur.

The rest of Hilduin's sources are concerned with the date of the Saint, his mission in Gaul, and his identity with the Areopagite. After a reference to Eusebius (*Hist. eccl. vers. Rufin.*, p. 47) he adds: —

(p. 332, ch. 10) De cuius, videlicet Dionysii Ariopagitae, obitu nil Greci scriptores dixerunt, quia propter longinquitatem terrarum transitus ipsius penitus eis mansit incognitus.

(3) *Epistolae Variorum*, 21, pp. 335–337 (MS. Cheltenham)

Letter of Hilduin to the Catholic Church

(INTRODUCTION TO THE *Passio S. Dionysii*)[8]

Hilduin says that he has written his life of the Saint to increase devotion to him, and to furnish an example and stimulus to the faithful. He has drawn his narrative from ancient writings, recently discovered, not from modern. That the documents were previously unknown is no argument against them; cf. the discovery of the Book of the Law.

(p. 336) Abiecta denique omni ambiguitate, quod iste ipse Dionysius, cuius hic gesta scribuntur, non sit Ariopagites et Athenarum episcopus, quid quisque dixerit, veluti de autumatione Gregorii Turonensis episcopi et subreptione Bede sancti presbyteri atque aliorum quorumque sine auctoritate iactatur, qui curiosius hoc scire voluerint, ut de multis quaedam designemus, ex nomine Eusebii Caesariensis hystoriarum et Aristarchi Grecorum chronografi ad Onesiforum primicerium epistolam, et Visbii conscriptionem perquirat et relegat, ibique discere poterit, quis iste Dionisius fuerit, et qualiter per martyrii palmam ad Christum perrexerit, si hic eis in sui conexione manus dare fidei detractaverit. De his autem et aliis quibuscumque unde sunt omnia sumpta, quae prae manibus tenentur collecta, si benignitati legentis commodum ac placitum

[8] This encyclical, serving as an introduction to the *Passio*, explains why the account of Athens is attributed to Aristarchus.

(*p. 337*) fuerit et alibi ea invenire nequiverit, litterarum nostrae parvitatis ex hoc ad serenissimum augustum affatim instrui lectione valebit. Nam et si eis credere dignatus non fuerit, ille sibi tamen sine quolibet supercilio prodent, ubi haec universa, et qualiter ac quo ordine dicta manifeste reperiat. Ipsorumque librorum plenitudinem, si indiguerit, mutuare ab archivo ecclesiae nostrae quibit.

3

Letter of Aristarchus to Onesiphorus Primicerius

(Paris, Bibl. Nat., MSS., *Nouv. acq. lat. 697,* fol. 243v–244r)[9]

In the sermon from which this letter is quoted the preacher admits that little is known about the early life of the Saint. He will tell what he can: — "Quedam etenim in quibusdam Grecis codicibus relegendo cognovimus, quedam nobis sunt relatione nota fidelium."

In[10] Dei nomine Eugyppius Aristarchus Onosiforo primicerio salutem. Apices vestrae caritatis Anatholio deferente suscepimus, in quibus insertum legitur uti quantum nostrae memoriae vel priscorum vetusta traditione recordati fuerimus de variis dogmatibus vel sectarum varietate Atheniensium, seu de situ vel compositione urbis Athenarum, vobis rescribere studio litterali curarem. Et inter cetera in scriptis vestris reperimus quatinus vobis brevi stilo perstrinxissem que in ipsa civitate Atheniensium temporibus apostolorum gesta sunt, vel quomodo Paulo apostolo ibidem superveniente per inanes philosophias et fallaces rerum machinationes restuerunt. Immo etiam expetistis a nobis ut de Symacho et Appollinare chronopagita, necnon et Dionisio Ariopagita, qui auditores Pauli apostoli temporibus apud Athenas claruerunt, quid de illis scirem, vel quali prosapia Atheniensium quaque de stirpe orti sunt, vobis luculenter exprimerem. Quod ita secundum imbecillitatem ingenii nostri per transacta retro tempora traditione vetustatis sicut audire potuimus vobis per Anatholium filium et Agigerulum vestrum direximus. Athenas civitas in confinio Traciae et Lacedemoniorum posita; situ terrarum montuosa; Yonici maris faucibus interclusa; Egeum pelagus sinistra parte contingit. Urbs inclita et antiqua terrarum fertilitate opulenta, fandi et eloquentiae nutrix, philosophorum et sapientium genetrix, artium variarum et divitiarum opulencia prae ceteris urbibus pollebat. Hec posita est in Attica provincia, ubi Cycrops et Menander reges gentium claruerunt, ubi Apollo et Ypocras et Aristotiles nati sunt, qui toto orbe in ipsis temporibus sapienciae floribus fulserunt. In hac magnopere urbe tempore Cicropis et Menandri regum simulacrorum cultus, idolorum superstitiosa religio primitus reperta emicuit. Quinque etenim regionibus dispertita describitur. Prima regio est que Egeum mare

[9] For the two manuscripts known to the Bollandists see *Acta SS.*, Octobris, IV, pp. 703–709; for the text of the letter, pp. 703–704:

(Auc. Cornelio Byeo) 33. In codice nostro Q Ms. 6, nostroque item; quod e S. Audomari codice desumptum notatur, manuscripto sermo habetur, in SS. Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii festivitate ad Sandionysianos in Francie, ut apparet, monachos a Sandionysiano item, ut apparet, monacho recitatus; Sermo autem supra a me iam memoratum Epistolae, de qua hic, Fragmentum complectitue, ei ab auctore seu sacro praecone, utut sane perquem inepte, intextum. . . . His itaque in codice (p. 704) Q Ms. 6 verbis concipitur.

[10] In the manuscript this word is in red, placed alone and in the center of the line.

respicit, mons supereminens urbi, ubi Saturni et Priapi aurea simulacra variis (*fol. 244r*) colebantur illusionibus. Quam religionem Chronopagum Greci nuncupant. Chronos etenim Greci Saturnum vocant. Secunda regio Athenarum est, que respicit contra Trachiam, ubi Therebintus mirae magnitudinis inerat, et ubi Fauni agresti hominis simulacrum a pastoribus, diebus constitutis, colebatur. Tertia regio urbis Athenarum est, que respicit portum Neptuni, ubi simulacrum Dianae et Neptuni Egei colebant. Locum Passedon pagam appellant; Greci enim Neptunum Possedon dicunt. Quarta regio Atheniensis urbis est; ubi idolum Martis et Herculis colebatur, quod est in collo Tritoniae; mons in medio urbis positus, ubi concursus totius urbis luna renascente veniebat ad colendum solem et Martem et Herculem, quos deos illi fortissimos adorabant, quem locum Greci Ariopagum vocant. Aris enim Grece, Mars Latine dicitur. Quinta regio urbis Atheniensis est, que respicit ad portam Scheam, ubi idolum et simulacrum Mercurii positum est, qui locus Ermipagus nominatur. Ermis enim Grece, Latine Mercurius dicitur. Hec urbs maris terraeque, silvarum et montium, fluminum et virectarum prae ceteris urbibus Greciae nobilissima floruit.[11] Et que tunc urbibus ceteris praeferebatur; modo gentium impetu oppressa et intercapta deprimitur.

There follows an account of the conversion of a certain Apollo, a conversation between St. Paul and Dionysius, the conversion, baptism, and preaching of the latter, — all much as in Hilduin's *Passio*.

II

LUDOLF VON SUTHEM (SÜDHEIM) AND WILHELM VON BOLDENSELE

Ferdinand Deycks, "Ludolphi rectoris ecclesiae parochialis in Suchem, *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber*," Nach alten Handschriften berichtet. *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, XXV, 1851.

Suchem, the place where, according to the manuscripts, Ludolf was pastor, is unknown, but its form here is an easily recognizable example of the common scribal error of substituting *c* for *t*. Suthem represents apparently Sudheim (or Südheim), a familiar name, of which two instances are found in Paderborn, — one, a sparsely inhabited and insignificant place; the other, a town of considerable importance near Lichtenau. It is therefore with little doubt this latter of which Ludolf was pastor; the dedication of his work moreover shows that he regarded the prince-bishop of Paderborn, Balduin of Steinfurt (1341–1361), as his lord.[1]

[11] *Ms.*, a large ampersand is here written in the margin.

[1] Evelt, "Ludolf von Suthem, Pfarrer im Hochstifft Paderborn, und dessen Reise nach dem heiligen Lande," *Z. f. vaterländ. Gesch. u. Alterthumsk.* (Verein f. Gesch. u. Alterth. Westfalens), XX (N.F., X), 1859, pp. 1–22; for the facts given above, see pp. 9–13; Deycks, p. xix; *Ludolph von Suchem's Description of the Holy Land*, translated by Aubrey Stewart (Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society, No. 27), (London: 1895), p. iii.

Ludolf was in the Orient from 1336–1341;[2] his *De Itinere* appears to have been written not far from 1350, for toward the end he mentions the persecution of the Jews in Germany in 1348 and 1349 as a recent event.[3] In parts of his Latin work he seems to have copied the *Livre de Cologne,* which was composed (in German) after 1350.[4] The *De Itinere* attained a certain degree of popularity, for it existed in numerous manuscripts, was translated into German and was printed in both German and Latin.[5]

The text published by Deycks and used below, with collations from the fifteenth-century Vatican manuscript, *Vat. 7317,* for the passages printed from the *De Itinere,* is edited from two codices in Berlin: Berol. *mss. Diez. C,* fol. 60, of the second half of the fourteenth century, and Berol. *mss. lat.,* fol. 198, of the beginning of the fifteenth century.[6]

In Ludolf's account of Palestine he follows closely the course of Wilhelm von Boldensele, whom he sometimes copies.[7] From mediaeval sources we learn that a certain Otto von Neuhaus in 1330 had left the Dominican cloister of St. Paul at Minden, obtained absolution and, "ne nosceretur," had assumed for the rest of his life the name of Wilhelm von Boldensele, derived from his mother's side of the family; later he reentered the Dominican order. He died at Cologne.[8] Although the dates of his journey are not absolutely certain, he seems to have reached Syria at Christmas, 1332, to have been in Jerusalem in 1333, and to have written his *Reise* in 1336.[9] Ludolf relates that at Hebron he had met three young men, "familiares cuiusdam militis de partibus istis, nomine dominus Wilhelmus de Bolensele, qui ante tempus meum stetet in partibus ultramarinis, et ibidem a Soldano et regibus et aliis principibus fuit mirifice honoratus, et, ut audivi, in Colonia diem clausit extremum."[10] Wilhelm, who from boyhood had desired to visit the Holy Land, undertook the journey at the request of Cardinal Elias Talleyrand Périgord, and was accompanied by a priest and a considerable armed force.[11] His

[2] See below, p. 29; Deycks, *ibid.* [3] Deycks, pp. 98–99.

[4] G. A. Neumann, "Ludolf de Sudheim, De Itinere *Terre Sancte,*" *Arch. de l'Orient latin,* II, 1884, *Documents,* p. 327. Neumann is disposed to date Ludolf's work after 1350 or even after 1355.

[5] Evelt, pp. 5–8; Neumann, pp. 307–328 on the use made of Ludolf by Nicholas de Bude in *Notabilia de Terre Sancte;* R. Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae* (Berlin: 1890), p. 77.

[6] Deycks, p. xxii; Evelt, p. 5.

[7] R. Röhricht, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Innsbruck: 1900), p. 90.

[8] C. L. Grotefend, "I. Die Edelherren von Boldensele; II. Des Edelherrn Wilhelm von Boldensele Reise nach dem geloebten Lande," *Z. des hist. Vereins f. Niedersachsen,* I, 1852 (publ. 1855), I, pp. 209–226; II, pp. 226–286. For the facts given above see pp. 209, 229–230. According to one account, after leaving the Dominicans Wilhelm joined the Hospitallers, the order of the Knights of St. John at Jerusalem.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 231. [10] Deycks, p. 71; Grotefend, p. 229.

[11] Grotefend, pp. 232, 234.

route took him to Genoa, then to Nola, where he embarked; after sailing around Italy and Greece to Constantinople, he skirted along the Asia Minor coast via Crete, Cyprus and Phoenicia to Tyre, where he landed. His journey ended at Beyrout. "Desideravi multum recedere et ad portum Christianorum navi pertingere, ut post laborem aliquali quiete commode recrearer. Quod et ita factum est, de quo Deus sit benedictus in secula seculorum. Amen."[12] The passage quoted below[13] follows a description of the Mediterranean with Gibraltar (*Strictum de Maroch*) at one side and the Hellespont and Mare Ponticum with Constantinople, of which a brief account is given, at the other:

Ubi vero hoc brachium incipit derivari a mari Mediterraneo, supra litus Asiae Minoris fuit Troja, illa antiqua et potens civitas, constituta. . . . Propter vetustatem temporis tantae civitatis vestigia vix apparent.

Sic igitur prospero navigio, Domino annuente, ad has partes Trojae perveni, postquam de civitate Nauli procedendo perlustravi litora Lombardiae ac Tusciae, Campaniae, Calabriae et Apuliae et transivi famosas Italiae insulas, Corsicam, Sardiniam et Siciliam, et postquam transivi sinum seu mare Adriaticum, quod hodie Gulfus Venetiarum dicitur, qui sinus tempestuosus est dividens Italiam et Graeciam in hac parte, et postquam circa litora ipsius Graeciae navigando lustravi Achajam Athenarumque provinciam, philosophiae matrem, et Macedoniam ceterasque partes Graeciae quae Romania vulgariter nuncupatur.

Post haec procedens de Trojae partibus, insulas Graecorum Asiae et litora Minoris Asiae diligentius perlustravi; veni ad insulam Syo, ubi mastix crescit, et, ut dicitur, nusquam alibi.

Then the course follows Patmos, Ephesus, Patara, Myra, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus and Syria.

Those who wish to visit the Holy Land, Ludolf tells us,[14] must take ship ("nave") or galley ("galeyda"). The former goes direct, putting into port only under stress of weather or for provisions; the galley runs along the coast, lying up at night. Ludolf went by galley, stopping at the important harbors, to Constantinople and on to the ruins of Troy; then he returned to the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, to Corsica, and afterwards to Sardinia, Sicily, southern Greece, Ephesus, Rhodes, Cyprus, Alexandria and the coast towns of Syria and Palestine; from Acre he passed through the desert into Egypt and to Cairo, then through the Holy Land to Damascus and Beyrout.[15]

Incipit Liber Ludolphi de Itinere Terrae Sanctae[16]

Reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino, domino suo gratioso Baldewino de Stenvordia, paderbornensis ecclesiae episcopo, Ludolphus rector ecclesiae parochialis in Suchem paderbornensis dioecesis, debitam reverentiam et honorem.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 286.
[13] Pp. 239–240.
[14] Deycks, p. 16.
[15] Evelt, p. 14.
[16] Deycks, pp. 1–2.

Cum multi de partibus ultramarinis, seu de terra sancta ac ipsarum partium statu condicionibusque, ipsas partes semel transeundo, quam plurima referant atque scribant, et ego in istis partibus per quinquennium assidue inter reges et principes, praesules, nobiles ac dominos die noctuque fuerim conversatus, et ipsas partes ultramarinas visitaverim multotiens ac pertransiverim, de ipsarum partium statu . . . ob reverentiam vestrae paternitatis et honorem et ob vestri memoriam, ad solatium plurimorum, nunc de his omnibus praedictis dudum conscribere desideravi. sed variis et diversis praepeditus negotiis adimplere nequiens, scripturarum tamen memoriae commendans, ea nunc plus (*p. 2*) otio vacans, in statu per omnia, prout ipsas partes ultramarinas et earum statum anno domini MCCCXXXVI inveni, et ipsas partes et earum statum anno domini MCCCXLI reliqui, secundum mei paucitatem intellectus et ingenii ac memoriae fragilitatem parumper duxi compendiose conscribendum atque etiam enarrandum. Verumtamen nullus credat, me omnia et singula, quae inserere propono, oculis vidisse, sed ex antiquis gestis bene aliqua extraxisse, et aliqua ex veridicis hominibus audisse, quae omnia, in quibus locis scribantur et inveniantur, discreti lectoris iudicio duxi committendum.

(*Deycks, p. 16*) Cum autem sic cum galeyda de loco ad locum, de portu ad portum navigatur usque ad Constantinopolim, de qua prius dixi, pervenitur, et ipsa civitate dimissa supra[17] littus Asiae minoris pervenitur ad locum, ubi quondam illa nobilissima civitas Troia fuit sita, cuius aliquod vestigium non apparet, nisi aliqua fundamenta in mari sub aqua (*p. 17*) et in aliquibus locis aliqui lapides et aliquae columnae marmoreae subterratae,[18] quae tamen dum inveniuntur, ad alia loca deportantur. De quibus est sciendum, quod in civitate Venetiae non est aliqua columna lapidea vel aliquod bonum opus lapideum sectum, nisi de Troia ibidem sit deportatum.

(*Deycks, p. 23*) In ipsa terra (i.e., Achaia) est pulchra civitas nomine Patras. In qua passus erat[19] sanctus Andreas apostolus. Etiam sanctus Antonius et quam plures[20] sancti ibidem quondam degerunt et ex ea originam traxerunt.[21] Non procul a Patras est Athenis, in qua quondam viguit studium Graecorum. Haec civitas quondam fuit nobilissima, sed nunc quasi deserta. Nam ea civitate ianuensi non est aliqua columna marmorea vel aliquod opus bonum[22] lapideum sectum, nisi sit[23] de Athenis ibidem deportatum et totaliter ex Athenis civitas est constructa, sicut Venetia ex lapidibus Troiae est aedificata.[24] In eadem terra Achaia est Corinthi civitas pulchra[25] et fortissima, in cacumine montis sita, cui in fortitudine similis vix est audita. Nam si totus mundus ipsam obsiderat, frumenti, vini,[26] olei et aquarum, numquam penuriam sustineret.[27] Ad hanc civitatem sanctus Paulus quam plures[28] scripsit epistolas. . . . Etiam in Achaia, seu Morea, degunt fratres domus Theutonicorum habentes ibidem fortissima castra, semper cum duce atheniensi et Graecis litigantes. De Achaia, seu Morea, procedendo pervenitur[29] ad diversas Graecorum insulas, lustrando littora Asiae minoris, et pervenitur[30] ad quandam insulam nomine Sya.

[17] The narrative from Deycks, pp. 16–17, 23, is collated here with the fifteenth-century Vatican ms., *Vat. 7317*, fols. 405v, 408r. See Röhricht as above, note 5. *7317*, Super. The remaining notes on this passage give collations from *7317* without further designation of the ms.

[18] sub terra. [19] fuit. [20] plurimi.

[21] extraxerunt. [22] bonum opus. [23] om. sit.

[24] Insert as heading: De Corintho ciuitate et galata que nunc pera vocatur.

[25] pulcherrima. [26] ins. et. [27] non substineret penuriam.

[28] om. quam plures. [29] procedetur; om. pervenitur.

[30] om. pervenitur.

(*Deycks, p. 102, last paragraph*) Haec sunt itinera terrae sanctae bona, sed non publica, in quibus omnia loca et oratoria praedicta commode perlustrantur in statu et dispositione, prout erant sub annis domini, prout supra. Et scio quod ab aliquo vivente in aliquibus non possum reprobari, quia de his, quas vidi et veraciter sudivi, testimonium perhibeo. Et haec ad deductionem et reverentiam reverendissimi in Christo patris ac domini, domini Baldewini paderburnensis ecclesiae episcopi dignissimi conscripsi et nomine domini invocato incepi et complevi. Cui laus et gloria per infinita saecula. Amen.

III

NICCOLO DA MARTONI
NICOLAI DE MARTHONI,
NOTARII,
LIBER PEREGRINATIONIS AD LOCA SANCTA

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS., *Fonds latin, 6521,* fols. 67–103.[1]

FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo quarto, die decimo septimo mensis junii anni secunde indictionis, in vigilia Sacratissimi Corporis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, ego notarius Nicolaus de Marthono, de civitate Calin[ensi],[2] volens et cupiens sepulcrum Domini nostri Jhesu Christi et alia loca ultramarina visitare una cum nobilibus viris Antonatio de Aspello, de civitate Suessa, et Cobello de Dyano, de civitate Theani, et multis aliis peregrinis, intravimus navim Melli Maltacia, de civitate Gayete,

[1] The text has been published by Léon Le Grand, *R. Or. lat.*, III, 1895, pp. 566–669; for the parts printed here see pp. 647–656. For selections see Walther Judeich, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXII, 1897, pp. 423–438.

The manuscript, a copy and not the original, is about 0.28 x 0.22 m. and the written surface about 0.21 x 0.12 m. The headings of the paragraphs printed below in italics, as also by Le Grand, are written in the margin at the left, but are not always contiguous to the beginning of the paragraphs that they head here. The approximate point of the text beside which the rubric occurs in the manuscript is indicated below by an asterisk. On the codex and previous notices of it see Le Grand, pp. 575–576.

Bibl. Nat., *Fonds latin, 17197,* fols. 190–210, contains a miscellany of church documents and also an abridgement of the text of Niccolò, which is stated (fol. 216v) to have been copied from *Cod. Reg. 5785* (i.e., *6521* in the new numbering) with omissions: "ea omnia omisi quae nihil aut parum indicabant." The text concerning Athens corresponding to that printed below extends from fols. 208v–212v; that concerning Negroponte, fols. 211r–212r. The copy is somewhat free in transcription and in its omissions and abbreviations. It has no value either in text or contents. It is written on quarto paper, 0.278 x 0.20 m., each sheet being mounted on guards, since the volume itself is a folio.

[2] Carinola, at the foot of Monte Massico della Campania (in the territory of the Aurunci near Sinuessa). For variant forms of the name see Le Grand, p. 577, note 2. It is noteworthy that the ms. was copied at Rocca di Mondragone close to Carinola (*ibid.*, p. 575).

qui, cum quatuor aliis navibus facientibus conservam, accesserunt ad civitatem Alexandrie versus sanctam civitatem Jerusalem.

On his return journey Niccolò embarked on October 25 at Jaffa for Beyrout, from where he crossed to Cyprus, and then to Rhodes. Here he took a ship of Messina for Venice, passed by Calymnus, Leros, Naxos, Paros and Siphnos, but near Thermia (Fermia) to escape an attack by pirates he with some companions took a small boat and landed at Thermia, whence they crossed by Zea to Attica, and then visited Athens.[3] Here he evidently did not go to the lower town or to the region directly south of the Acropolis, but as he left the next morning for Negroponte, this is scarcely surprising. After vainly waiting forty days at Negroponte for a ship to Italy, the party started for Corinth, but though they spent part of Palm Sunday at Athens, Niccolò says nothing further about antiquities. From Corinth they at length sailed for Italy.

(*fol. 95r*) *Quando discessimus de Fermia et de carnisprivio per nos facto in litore maris.* Cogitantis semper ad patriam nostram redire, ordinavimus accedere ad civitatem Acthenarum, quam noviter Venitiales receperant sub eorum dominio, post mortem domini Raynerii de Flor[entia], qui ipsum cum toto ducatu suo tenuit, et deinde per Romaniam accedere ad Corantum, ut inde, cum adiutorio ducis qui erat notus dicti domini Anton-[at]ii, accederemus Venetias seu ad alium locum versus nostram patriam, et sic invenimus unam barchulinam de dicta terra Fermie pro ducatis decem, ut portaret nos ad dictam terram Acthenarum distantem a Fermia per milearia LXXX.

(*fol. 95v*) Die lune XXII° dicti mensis februarii carnisprivii, sumpto prandio in Fermia, discessimus et descendimus ad portum Fermie ubi erat barcha que nos portavit et ibi de sero iuxta litus maris fecimus dicto die lune de sero carnisprivium de gracillis pernicibus[4] preparatis et certis aliis rebus quas portavimus.* Qua cena sumpta, intravimus barcham et media nocte applicuimus ad insulam Cie,[5] que est dicti domini Johannis de Bononia, domini Fermie, et, accepto aliquali sompno in portu dicte insule, de nocte discessimus cum magno timore ex dubio naviliorum Turchorum, navigantes versus portum Acthenarum, distantem ab Acthenis milearia quatuor, ad quem portum non potuimus ire propter ventum contrarium. Accessimus ad quemdam alium portum distantem ab Acthenis milearia XXIII^or^,[6] die martis de sero XXIII° dicti mensis februarii carnisprivii.

De viro et muliere conversis in statuas marmoreas. — Prope quem portum* non multum longe in quodam monte, sunt due ymagines de marmore, viri et mulieris, de quibus hoc recitatur quod dictus vir existens homo sequebatur dictam mulierem, que erat virgo, causa ipsam carnaliter cognoscendi. Ipsa fugiebat per dictos montes nolens se consentire voluntati sue. Tandem videns mulier quod non poterat evadere de manibus dicti viri suas preces fundit Deo ut converterentur ambo in ymagines marmoreas et exaudite fuerunt preces sue, et sic manent usque in hodiernum diem.

[3] For brief accounts of Niccolò and of his visits to the monuments of Athens see Judeich, pp. 434–437; Miller, pp. 140–141; W. N. Bates, "Early Travellers in Greece," *Crozier Quarterly*, XXII, No. 4, 1945, p. 308; Setton, *Catalans*, pp. 227–232; below, pp. 173, 174.

[4] Le Grand, *piscibus* (?). [5] Zea.

[6] Porto Raphti, *ca.* 35 km. from Athens; see Judeich, p. 431, note 2.

X

ATHENAE, NIGROPONTUS, CORINTHUS.

De carnisprivio quod fecimus die martis in portu Acthenarum. — Predicto die martis carnisprivii, custodivimus vigiliam sancti Mathie Apostoli, quia sic inveni in kalendario meo,[7] et fecimus nostrum carnisprivium in litore maris, commedendo panem, caseum et de certis pastedis ovorum et casei donatis nobis in terra Fermie. Cum quantis suspiriis et cordis ac mentis desolatione* dictum carnisprivium feci, considerans me in dicto exilio permanere ubi non habebam spem de aliquo navilio quod me ad meam patriam portaret; considerans etiam desolationem domus mee et omnium meorum consanguineorum ac amicorum, quibus nullum novum de meo statu poteram notificare; considerans etiam me illis diebus carnisprivii in domo mea in tantis et diversis ferculis habundari quod non solum pro usu domus mee sufficiebat sed etiam pro egenis et pauperculis convicinis. Non tot guttas vini illis diebus potavi quot de meis oculis lacrime emanarunt, referens semper Deo laudes dignas qui michi meum iter complevit et me de cursorum manibus liberavit.

*Quando discessimus de dicto portu.** — Videntes nos in dicto exilio et dubitantes de Turchis, qui solebant dicta loca discurrere, invenimus duos somerios et unum equum piscatorum ibidem manentium pro uno ducato usque ad civitatem Acthenarum et, facto crespulo,[8] discessimus de dicto portu distante milearia XXIIII^{or} ab Acthenis et tota nocte cum pluvia ambulavimus per montes et loca deserta, et die mercurii XXIIII^{o} die dicti mensis februarii de mane, applicuimus ad dictam civitatem Acthenarum.

De civitate Acthenarum. — (*fol. 96r*) Civitas Acthenarum, ut hostendit per antiqua hedificia, et prout doctores et auctores loquitur quod[9] alias fuit magna civitas et magna hedificia in ea fuerunt, prout vidimus multas columpnas et multos lapides marmoreos qui nunc jacent ubi ipsa civitas fuit hedificata. Ipsa civitas alias erat constructa usque ad mare et girabat in circuyta milearia XXIIII^{or}, *tempore imperatoris Adriani, qui ipsi civitati fuit dominatus. Deinde postquam ipsa civitas fuit destructa a Troyanis[10] reducta est prope castrum civitatis. Civitas ipsa est posita intra duos montes distantes unum ab alio per milearia sex[11] et habet pulcram planam durantem per milearia XII, in qua plana plura et pulcra sunt oliveta. Nunc vero ipsa civitas habet focularia unum mille vel circa.

De fontibus aquarum quos oportebat bibere studentes in Acthenis. — Desiderans autem videre aliqua antiqua que fuerunt in dicta civitate, rogavi quosdam de dicta civitate ut me conducerent ad videndum ipsa hedificia et res antiquas;* et primo accessimus ad illos duos fontes aquarum de quibus oportebat quemlibet scolarem bibere pro acquirenda scientia; et in hoc auctores figunt, quia aqua fontium quam oportebat eos bibere erat studium magnorum philosophorum, videlicet Aristotilis et aliorum qui erant in dicta civitate Acthenarum, qui fontes erant duo pulcerime laborati et fabricati cum lapidibus marmoreis.[12] Deinde accessimus ad studium Aristotil[is],[13] quod studium est

[7] The presence of this "kalendario" doubtless accounts for the accuracy of many of Niccolò's statements. See Le Grand, p. 571.

[8] Judeich, *crepusculo* (?). [9] Le Grand and Judeich, *loquuntur* (?); om. *quod.*

[10] See F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart: 1889), II, 342[1]; below, p. 33.

[11] On the correctness of Niccolò's measurements see Judeich, pp. 432–434. The two mountains are Hymettus and Aegaleon, which are 8 miles (8.88 km.) apart.

[12] These fountains seem peculiar to Niccolò, but it is noticeable that he dismisses as a misplaced metaphor the statement as to their potency "pro acquirenda scientia."

[13] Evidently an abbreviation. The "studium Aristotelis" was shown to other visitors, usually

de lapidibus marmoreis fabricatum, longum pedibus XX et largum XVI. Erat copertum supra de trabibus marmoreis et tabulis marmoreis supra eos et totum studium in circuytu et supra erat laboratum diversis laboribus cum auro fino et aliis pulcris coloribus, itaque adhuc videntur vestigia dictorum laborum ab utroque capite ipsius studii; extra portas sunt atria cum columpnis coperta trabibus et tabulis marmoreis, per que atria ita laborata et picta auro Aristotilis, quando erat fastiditus studendi, ibat ambulando pro sui delectatione. Deinde accessimus ubi fuit magnum hospitium dicti Imperatoris Adriani, quod est dirructum: nunc sint columpne XX, alte circa palmos octuaginta, et grosse quantum possent accingere quatuor homines extensis brachiis. Supra quas columpnas sunt trabes de marmore longi et grossi supra quos magnum erat hedificium.[14]

De introytu qui fuit castri. — *Et ibi prope est porta introytus que fuit dicti castri, qui introytus est de lapidibus marmoreis, pulchris laboribus fabricatus, sic pulcer sicut est introytus turrium civitatis Capue, set non ita magnus introytus ut michi videtur. Item extra civitatem est quidam pons magnus cum magno hedificio domorum, ubi alias milites[15] pugnabant de ventura, currebant ab utroque latere et in medio ipsius pontis fiebat pugna.

De castro Acthenarum et sala ipsius. — Deinde accessimus ad castrum ipsius civitatis, quod est supra quoddam saxo marmoreo hedificatum, in quo castro est* quedam sala magna in qua sunt columpne magne XIII. Supra quas columpnas sunt trabes longi pedibus triginta, et supra ipsas trabes sunt tabule marmoree: magnum et mirabile opus videtur.[16]

De ecclesia majori Acthenarum et pulchris hedificiis ipsius. — Postea accessimus ad majorem ecclesiam sitam intra dictum castrum, vocabuli Sancte Marie, que ecclesia est fabricata lapidibus marmoreis et magnis, omnibus implummatis, et est ipsa ecclesia magna sicut ecclesia Capuana. *In circuytu ipsius ecclesie extra ecclesiam sunt columpne magne LX.[17] Quelibet ipsarum alta plus de scalis de vendemiando, et grossa quantum possent actingere[18] quinque homines, brachiis expansis. Et supra ipsas columpnas sunt trabes de marmore longe et grosse. Supra quas est atrium ipsius ecclesie. Impossibile videtur menti hominis quomodo ipsa tam magna hedificia construi potuerunt.

De columpna signata per sanctum Dyonisium. — *Intus quas columpnas est una columpna signata, in qua sanctus Dyonisius, tempore passionis Domini nostri Yhesu Christi, stabat adhesus, et cum tremuerunt omnia predicta hedificia propter terre motum factum in toto mundo, sanctus Dyonisius tunc dixit hec verba: "Aut machina mundi destruetur, aut Filius Dei aliquid patietur": et signavit sua manu dictam columpnam quadam cruce sua manu. Que crux adhuc permanet in illa columpna.* Introytus ipsius ecclesie est largus, ut extimo,[19] cannas quatuor, et altus cannas quinque. In dicto introytu sunt porte de illis portellis qui steterunt in portis civitatis Troye, quando civitas Troye fuit destructa. Portelli portarum ipsius civitatis fuerunt portati ad Acthenas et facte fuerunt porte in dicta ecclesia Sancte Marie.

at the aqueduct of Hadrian on Lycabettus but sometimes near the monument of Thrasyllus above the theatre. The former seems indicated here, as Niccolò went next to the "hospitium Hadriani."

[14] See, e.g., below, pp. 67, 73, 149, for the belief that the palace was built on the columns, perhaps because of the size of the architrave and the disappearance of the cella.

[15] The first letter may be *m*. That in *Maccharii* and in *Maccabei* on fol. 97r is similar.

[16] The Propylaea had long been incorporated in the fortifications which barred the only access to the citadel, but Niccolò throws no light on their appearance. The large hall ("magnum et mirabile opus") must be the great western hall, with the six Ionic and seven of the exterior columns, the others being already walled up.

[17] A round number for 58. [18] Judeich, *accingere* (?). [19] Judeich, *estimo* (?).

De primo altari. — *Dicta ecclesia habet duas naves, unam post aliam, in qua navi prima est primum altare factum in mundo per sanctum Dyonisium post adhectum sanctam catholicam fidem.

De columpnis jaspidis. — *Est acchorum ipsius ecclesie pulcrum, et in circuytu altaris sunt quatuor columpne de jaspide, ipsarum quelibet grossa quantum possunt actingere duo[20] homines cum brachiis et alta duas cannas. Super quas columpnas est quodam pulcrum trullum supra altare magnum. Prope ipsum altare est quedam pulcra et magna cisterna ad quam fluit magnus cursus aquarum quando pluit.[21]

De cona Virginis Marie facta per manus sancti Luce. — Prope ipsum altare, *in quadam parva cappella a latere dextro altaris, est quedam cona cum figura Domine nostre Virginis Marie, picta per manus beati Luce, evangeliste, que cona ornata est perulis, gemmis et aliis multis lapidibus pretiosis, que cum clavi diligenter custoditur. In circuytu ipsius ecclesie sunt columpne de marmore LXXX, supra quas sunt trabes longi de marmore cum tabulis marmoreis super quibus currit annitus[22] per totum circuytum ipsius ecclesie. In quadam sissura[23] muri ipsius ecclesie apparet lumen ignis accensi quod nunquam extinguitur: extimatur quod aliquod corpus sanctum ibi sit inclusum.

De reliquiis ecclesie Acthenarum. — (*fol. 97r*) In dicta ecclesia predicto die vidimus subscriptas sanctas reliquias, ostensas nobis per procuratores ipsius ecclesie, que sunt hec, videlicet:

De capite sancti Maccharii.
*De osse brachii sancti Dyonisii de Francia.
De brachio sancti Ciprianoni.
De brachio sancti Justini.
De osse anche sancti Macchabei.

Liber omnium Evangeliorum scriptus per manus sancte Elene in cartis menbranis deauratis ad linguam grecam qui liber ibi pro magno thesauro reputatur.

De quodam ydolo. — Extra menia castri sunt due columpne magne supra quas *dicitur alias fuisse quoddam septrum mirifice factum in quo septro dicitur quod erat quidam ydolus intra inclusus cum tali potestate constructus quod siqua navilia illis temporibus venissent contra civitatem Acthenarum, quantum longe videbantur in mari, per dictum ydolum statim suffocabantur, quando vero veniebant ad Acthenas pro bono esse, nullum nocumentum ipsis naviliis per dictum ydolum inferebatur.[24]

Quando discessimus de Acthenis. — Ad civitatem Coranti non potuimus accedere per terram propter brigam magnam tunc vertentem inter ducem Cifalonie et dispotam Morenum, germanum imperatoris Constantinopolitani, de terris *hereditagiis domini Raynerii, ducem Acthenarum, qui fuit socer dictorum ducis et dispoti. Qui dux magnam Turchorum gentem armigeram secum habebat et colligatus erat cum domino Turchie contra dictum dispotam. Ideo accepimus iter die jovis XXV° die dicti mensis februarii versus insulam Nigripontis de dominio Venetialium,[25] expectaturi ibi navim venturam de Venetiis. Cum quibusdam asellis equitavimus tota die, quia equos in Acthenas non invenimus ad conducendum, et sero hora tarda, postquam noctis tenebre nos conculcaverunt applicuimus prope quoddam castrum quod dicitur Zuccaminu,[26] de religione Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani.

[20] *Idem, accingere* (?).
[21] *Ms., fluit;* Le Grand, *pluit.*
[22] Judeich, *ambitus* (?).
[23] *Idem, scissura* (?).
[24] A curious mediaeval version of the golden Gorgoneion.
[25] *Ms.* perhaps *Venecealium:* the *ce* resembles that in *conducendum* below.
[26] Sykaminon.

De periculo Turchiorum. — Cujus castri territorium illo die Turchii equites discurrerunt et ceperunt homines et animalia dicti castri, et circa horam vespertinam *transivimus paulo post per quandam viam unde ipsi Turchii transiberant forte per quandam horam antequam nos inde transiremus. Voluit Deus quod quidam de Acthenis nos illo die decepit de asellis per eum nobis premissis, ob quam causam tantum tardavimus, quia incidissemus in manus illorum, et ideo multotiens proverbia sunt vera, cum dicitur quod multa impedimenta aliquando sunt juvamenta.

(*fol. 97v*) *Quando applicuimus ad castrum Zucchamini.* —

Quando applicuimus ad terram Nigripontis. —

De terra Nigripontis. —

De castro antiquo. —

De Pontibus. —

De molendinis. —

(*fol. 98r*) Quadraginta diebus expectavimus dictam navim venturam de Venetiis, cum maxima angustia mentis et cordis et nullum novum habebatur de adventu suo. Ideo, consilio habito per nos a ballio[27] Nigripontis et habitis certis litteris missivis ab eo de recomendatione, disposuimus reverti ad civitatem Acthenarum, ut inde nostrum transitum versus nostram patriam quereremus.

Quando recessimus de Nigroponte. — Et die veneris secundo die mensis aprilis *post prandium, discessimus de Nigroponte cum una barchulina, et circa occasum solis applicuimus ad portum castri Zucchaminis, distantem a Nigroponte milearia XVIII, et descendimus in terram et pedester accessimus ad dictum castrum Zucchamini quod distat milearia tria a marina, cum maximo timore propter quodam castrum quod est ibi prope, nomine Ripo, in quo castro erant certi Albanenses, qui disrobant et faciebant quando poterant omne malum.

Quando discessimus de nocte de castro Zucchamini. —

Quando applicuimus ad Acthenas. — (*fol. 98r*) Die sabbati palmarum circa nonam applicuimus* ad civitatem Acthenarum, sperantes ibi invenire dominum Ludovicum de Prata, ipsius civitatis archiepiscopum. Eum non invenimus, quia erat in civitate Coranti cum duce Cifalonie: invenimus quemdam episcopum suum vicarium et certos suos familiares quos miserat ad accipiendum poxessionem et gubernandum bona ecclesie sue, cum quibus stetimus predicto die et nocte sequenti ex defectu quia in Acthenis non reperiuntur hostulanie ad hospitandum.

Quando discessimus de Acthenis. — (*fol. 98v*) Die dominico palmarum IIII° die aprilis,* audita missa in ecclesia Sancti Dominici paupercula et parva, ubi sunt duo fratres tantum, et receptis ibi sanctis palmis, discessimus ab Acthenis cum quibusdam someriis quos conduximus usque ad castrum Metre[28] quod noviter acceperat dictus dux Cifalonie pro parte uxoris sue, filie domini Ranerii, distantis ab Acthenis milearia XXIIII^or^, et tota die quandoque pedester quandoque equester ambulavimus cum maximo timore et labore, propter malendrenos et Turchos assuetos per illas partes disrobare. Circa horam vespertinam longe XV milearia ab Acthenis, invenimus quoddam castrum quod dicitur Lippissinox.[29] Alias fuit civitas maxima et nobilis, ut apparet, hedificia et multe columpne et marmores qui jacent ibi, et aqua fluebat ad dictam civitatem per quosdam conductos fabricatos cum pileriis et archis per quos descendebat a quibusdam montibus ad ipsam civitatem, et girabat ipsa civitas, quando fuit integra, milearia X.

[27] *Ms.*, possibly *ballino*, but *ballio* seems the more probable reading.

[28] Megara. In the manuscript *Metre* is written *Met* with a flourish for the abbreviation.

[29] Identified by Le Grand and Judeich with *Lev(f)sina* or *Lepsina*, viz., Eleusis.

(*fol. 103r*) AT THE END OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Rescriptum et copiatum fuit hoc opus apud Balnea Rocce Montis Raghonis per manus Cicci Grossi de Balsorano, de mandato magnifici domini Rogerii de Celano, ibi sistentis, de mense martii quinte indictionis, Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo septimo, Regnante Serenissimo Principe et domino, domino nostro Ladizlao Hungarie, Jerusalem et Sycilie rege, etc.

IV

LE SEIGNEUR D'ANGLURE

Le saint voyage de Jherusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure,
publié par François Bonnardot & Auguste Longnon
(Société des anciens textes français. Paris: 1878).

First edition, Troyes (Noel Moreau, dict le Coq): 1621. — Second edition by Abbé Michon, *Bibliothèque catholique de voyages et de romans* (ed. Abbé Domenech), I (Paris: 1858).[1]

The edition of Bonnardot and Longnon is published from a manuscript in Paris (Bibl. Nat., *Ms. fr. 15217*) with collations from a codex in the Metz dialect (*No. 189*) in the Bibliothèque of Epinal, which in some places is more correct, but in others is abbreviated.[2] The Paris version appears to have suffered some abbreviation by the copyist.[3] The Metz version was "adapted" into French in 1838 by the Baron d'Huart (*L'Austrasie,* III, pp. 149–168, 221–236), who added the names of four pilgrims, and made other changes to increase the interest of the work.[4] The Paris manuscript would appear to have been written by the chaplain or the secretary of the Seigneur d'Anglure.[5] He himself has been identified with Ogier VIII, step-son of Simon de Sarrebruck, who also held the title of Seigneur d'Anglure through his wife, Isabeau de Châtillon, widow of Ogier VII and mother of Ogier VIII. Simon died on this pilgrimage at Nicosia (Cyprus), January 18, 1396.[6]

The pilgrimage lasted from July 16, 1395, to June 22, 1396. The pilgrims sailed from Venice August 29, 1395, and reached Beyrout September 24; they left the Holy Land on October 24, and arrived at Cairo November 22; they embarked from Alexandria on December 21, stopped at Cyprus, and on January 24, 1396, set sail from Limisol for Rhodes where they remained until April 9, then passed

[1] *Ed. cit.*, pp. v–vii (designated below merely by the pages).
[2] Pp. vii–ix, xiv, xviii. [3] P. xv. [4] Pp. xix–xxi.
[5] P. xxii. [6] Pp. xxvii–xxix.

along Candia, Morea, Dalmatia to Ragusa; here they stayed from May 6 to May 9, and arrived at Venice May 23.[7]

The title of the *Voyage* is as follows:

Cy apprès s'ensuit le contenu du saint voyage de Jherusalem et le chemin pour aller a Saincte Catherine du mont de Synay et ainsi a Saint Anthoine et Saint Pol es loingtains desers de Egipte; lequel saint voyage a esté fait par monseigneur d'Angleure et autres de sa compagnie en l'an mil.iij^{c} .iiij^{xx}. et .xv., en et par la maniere qui s'ensuit.[8]

Leaving Venice their voyage took them via Pola (Paula), Corfu, Cephalonia (Chifornia), Modon and Rhodes.[9] On the return journey from Rhodes to Venice:[10] —

(§ 324) Nous partismes du port de Rodes pour retourner a Venise le dimenche apprès Pasques communians, .ix^{e} jour d'avril, l'an mil .iij^{c} iiij^{xx} et xvj. . . . . (§ 325) Sy feismes voille et costeasmes la Turquie grant temps a la main destre, et laissasmes l'isle de Quandie a la senestre: celle isle a .vij^{xx} de tour, et en sont seigneurs les Venitiens.

(§ 326) Apprès passasmes par delez le Taut Saint Ange[11] qui siet en la Morée, et le laissasmes a main destre.

There follows a short digression on the passage taken by ships bound for "Rommenie que l'en souloit appeller Greece," a mention of Constantinople, Pera and Caffa, "ung pays ou il fait merveilleusement tresgrant froit en l'iver," as was asserted by many sailors and merchants who had been "es lieux dessusdits, esquelz nous ne fusmes mye, c'est assavoir oultre la dicte bouche de Rommenie."

(§ 327) Assés près d'icellui Tau Saint Ange est une montaigne sur mer ou il y a ung hermitage et ung hermite. A environ xx milles près fut jadis la noble citè de Athenes qui est a present toute destruicte, et siet en la Morée. La Morée est ainsi comme une isle de vij^{c} mille de tour, environnée de mer excepté environ .v. milles de terre qu'il faudroit cosper, et puis seroit la mer tout autour d'icelle terre. De la Morée est seigneur le Depost qui est frere de l'empereur de Constantinople, et sont tous chrestiens grecs.

After passing Cap Saint Ange[12] and when near Coron, they were driven back by a storm and took refuge in a harbor, where "il a un chastel appellé Vitulo."[13] Then without stopping at Ragusa they passed on by Modon.

[7] Pp. xv–xvii. [8] P. 1. [9] Pp. 6–8.
[10] Pp. 95–99. [11] Cape Malia; see *Tau* or *Taut Saint Ange*, p. 171.
[12] P. 96, §328.
[13] Vitylos, on the east side of Kalamata; see p. 173. See also *Anonymus Ambrosianus*, Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, *C 61 inf.*, fol. 88r; Ziebarth as above (Chapter I, note 11), p. 73: "—da Coro(ne) in porto Vitulo et indi a Monovasia."

V

GIOVANNI MARIA ANGIOLELLO

A. Capparozzo, *Di Gio. Maria Angiolello e di suo inedito Manoscritto (Vicenza: 1881)*. Nozze Lampertico-Balbi. 26 Aprile, 1881.[1]

Come l'anno 1468 Io Francesco et Gio. Maria mio fratello degli Anzolelli Vicentini, partimmo da Vicenza a' dì 5 Agosto per lo viaggio di Negroponte, et quello, che ne incontra fino alla ritornata.[2]

Francesco and Giovanni Maria Angiolello, young Vicentines, both apparently merchants,[3] took part with the Venetian forces at Negroponte in 1470, where Francesco was killed in battle on July 12.[4] After the Turkish capture of the town, Giovanni Maria, less than 18 years of age,[5] was taken as a slave to Constantinople and assigned to the Sultan. He served under Mustapha, a son of Mohammed II, in his war against Ozzun Hassan, shah of Persia, and after the death of Mustapha in 1474, under Mohammed II in various campaigns. He was set free, though whether by Mustapha or Mohammed does not appear certain.[6] There is evidence that he was in Vicenza in 1490, and between 1507 and 1514 was again in the Orient. From the latter year until his death (placed in 1547) he was president of the Collegio dei Notari in Vicenza.[7] He is best known from two works generally attributed to him — *Breve narratione della vita e fatti dei signor Ussuncassano*[8] and *Historia Turchesca.*[9] The *Viaggio d'un mercatante che fu nella Persia*[10] has also been attributed to him, but is of doubtful authenticity.

The *Viaggio di Negroponte* (called by some authorities *Memorie*)[11] was printed by Capparozzo from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Bertoliana at Vicenza for the Nozze Lampertico-Balbi, and consequently for extremely limited circulation. It is obviously incomplete and is continued in the *Historia Turchesca.*[12] Begun as the joint work of the two brothers it seems to have been continued after the death of Francesco by Giovanni Maria alone.[13]

[1] Venice, Bibl. Marciana, *Misc. 3418.2.*

[2] Title from Bibl. Bertoliana, Vicenza, *Bertoliana 32.*

[3] J. Reinhard, *Essai sur J.-M. Angiolello* (Angers: 1913), pp. 48–49, 124; cited below merely by pages.

[4] Pp. 158–162.

[5] Pp. 36–37. [6] Pp. 39–40. [7] P. 48.

[8] Ed., Ramusio, *Secondo volume delle navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono l'historia delle cose de Tartari* (Venice: Giunti, 1559), II, pp. 66r–78r.

[9] Ed., J. Ursu (Bucharest: 1909).

[10] Ed., Ramusio, *loc. cit.*, pp. 78r–91r. On these works, with discussion of their authenticity, cf. Reinhard, Chaps. III, IV, App. N° 1. For the facts of the life of Angiolello see also *Enc. ital.*, *s.v.* Gio. Maria Angiolello (article by Caraci).

[11] *Ibid.*; Reinhard, pp. 97–98.

[12] Pp. 3, 5, 98–99. [13] For a summary of the contents see pp. 158–174.

They left Vicenza on August 5, 1468, Venice on August 15, and disembarked at Negroponte on September 26. Nearly two years later, on July 12, 1470, the town capitulated to the Turks.[14] On the return march to Constantinople they encamped in Greece at Thebes and Athens.[15]

(*p. 10*) Adì 26 detto[16] l'armata del Gran Turco si partì carica di Schiavi e robe di più sorte, et adì 28 il Gran Turco levò il Campo, et allogiò la sera a Stivel, il qual luogo era chiamato anticamente Tebe, et adì 29 il Gran Turco si levò da Stivel, et allogiò appresso Satines, il qual luogo anticamente si chiamava Athene, et nota che il Gran Turco andava aspettando alcune genti ch'erano ite per andar alla Morea nuotando il lago miglia venti, et il viaggio da giornata che faceva era sempre di 20 miglia al giorno poco più o meno, et tal cammino faceva ad ogni ritornata sua; et all' andata verso gli nemici faceva meno, cioè 8 o ver 10 miglia al giorno, et questo faceva per mantener le genti et Cavalli, accciochè (*sic*) alli (*p. 11*) bisogni fossero freschi, et non stracchi. In questo luogo nomata Satines vi sono assai antiche fabriche, et vi è anche un Monasterio di Frati dell'ordine dell' Opinione, i quali non danno obbedienza al Pontificato nostro, et sono la maggior parte Fiorentini; officiano alla italiana, et il parlar et legger suo è italiano: et hanno un bellissimo luogo con grande entrata sicchè vivono del suo.

Adì 30 il Gran Turco si levò da Satines, et allogiò a Livadia, il qual luogo e ricco di mercantia, et altre cose necessarie alla vita humana.

VI

ITINERARIUM MARITIMUM

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, *Cod. Medic. Palat. 54*[1]

The course follows the coast around Peloponnesus from Nauplia to Hydra.

(*fol. 51r*) Dall' Isola di Iidres al golfo, dove anticamente era la Città d'Atene, e vi si vede hoggi le sue rovine m. 50 quarta di maestro in ver ponẽ. Fra le altre rare anticaglie di questo luogo vi sono molte colonne di marmo alla Marina, et si dice che anticamente erano trecento tutte di marmo, e che armando in quel tempo gli Ateniesi trecento Galere, ogni capitano dava pruese alla sua colonna, nella quale era descritto il suo nome. Per tutto questo golfo è buon surgitore in passi 10. di fondo. Alla sua bocca è un isoletto tondo chiamato lena,[2] guardati da esso, e dall[e] Seccagne, che tiene intorno.

The course passes from Athens (without mention of Piraeus or Porto Lione) to Aegina, Corinth and Hexamilia. No description is given, but merely distances, direction and notes on anchorage and the depth of water.

[14] Pp. 159–162. [15] P. 163. [16] July, 1470.

[1] This beautifully written (or rather, printed) *Itinerarium* twice mentions the gathering of the Christian fleet in 1571, at the island of Tano and on the next folio at Casopo at Corfu (fols. 41v–42r). It was therefore composed after that date.

[2] Elena, namely Makronisi.

Da Coranto al cavo delle Colonne m. 60 per levante.

Dicontro à Cavo delle Colonne per Scilocco m.5. (*fol. 51v*) e l'isola di Rafti, che ha da ponente un buon porto, e per tutto intorno ad essa è buon surgitore, ma è bisogna havere buon Piloti per le secche, che sono intorno à detto Cavo.

La conoscenza dell' Isola di Rafti è una Statua grande di Marmo, che tiene in mano un paio di forbice, e si vede lontano m. 30 in mare.

From Rafti the course passes to Zia.

VII

GIOVANNI LORENZO D'ANANIA

L'universale Fabrica del Mondo overo Cosmografia [Di nuova posta in luce]. IN VENETIA. Ad instantia di Aniello San Vito di Napoli. 1576.

The first edition appeared in Naples (C. Cacchi) in 1573. Another was published in Venice in 1582: — In Venetia. Presso il Muschio. MDLXXXII. Ad instanza di Aniello San Vito di Napoli. Di nuovo ornata con le figure delle quattro parti del Mondo in Rame. Et dal medesimo Auttore con infiniti aggiuntioni per ogni parte dell' opera, ampliata. CON PRIVILEGIO. In 1596 Muschio brought out another edition.

After following in his descriptions the coast of Peloponnesus to "il forte Ceneres & Scheno,"[1] the author mentions Argos and Arcadia in the interior.

(*Pp. 128–129, ed. 1576; 147–148, ed. 1582*) Indi si trovano nel golfo d'Egina, con questo nome d'una Isoletta, che gli antichi chiamarono Siralia, i Colori, e Salamina, molto vicina à terra ferma, nel cui stretto vinse Temistocle con cinquanta galee Serse, c'haueva mille navi; ma lasciato l'Hessimiglio con Alcotoe, così dicono Magara, ci aspetta il Ducato d'Atene, posto quasi una lingua frà il detto golfo, e lo stretto di Negroponte, di sito molto secco, & arido; dove giace porto Leoni, prima Pireo; e poco discosto Setine, con tal nome hor vien chiamata la famosa, & antica città d'Atene, laquale mostra tanto per lo nome, quanto per la presentia del luogo l'instabilità delle cose mondane; scorgendosi non manco mutata di nome, che ruinata d'ogni sua gloria; perciò che essendo anticamente famosa infin dalle sue fondamenta, delle più belle città della Grecia, nobile nell' arme, & illustre nelle scienze, onde ella si contentò riternerne il nome, sprezzando l'altro del cavallo, che mentre s'edificava s'offerse all' augure per la guerra;[2] hoggi si vede una picciola villa piena d'ogni disagio e barbarie; poco auanti co'l suo Duca, la cui attione appartiene al regno: poco discosto Maratona, dove apportò gran fama la morte del Re Icaro, et (*p. 148*) la vittoria di Teseo contro il toro, aggiongendovene maggiore Milciade, per (*p. 129*) havervi vinti i Persiani dove perche ui si vedeuano di notte molte

[1] Kenchraea and Schoinos (?).

[2] Ed. 1582, 1596, ins. onde (line 11) — guerra.

illusioni del Diavolo, si teneua per loco infausto e derelitto:[3] poi si vede Anafisso; onde riducendoci à mare, si troua non troppo lungi da[4] porto Leoni, Munichia, e capo Colombi, quivi era il famoso Tempio de Cerere Heleusina, tanto celebrata da gli antichi scrittori per li suoi portenti. Indi curvandosi la terra verso Boetia, si scuopre porto Rafei; & quiui era il Tempio di Diana: e dopo il capo di Cinosura, il fiume Asopo, & il ponte Calogiero, cosi si chiama l'Attica Chersoneso; quiui si scuopre Sucamino, & finisce la detta Ducea.

VIII

JEAN CARLIER DE PINON
AND
HANS JACOB BREUNING VON UND ZU BUOCHENBACH

I.

Jean Carlier de Pinon

"Relation du Voyage en Orient de Carlier de Pinon, publié par E. Blochet," *R. Or. lat.*, XII, pp. 112–203, 327–421; XIII, pp. 61–107 (1909–1911). Published also under the above title (with the insertion of "avec des notes historiques et géographiques" between "publié" and "par") as an extract from the *R. Or. lat.* (Paris: 1920).[1]

The manuscript of the *Voyage en Orient,* Bibl. Nat., *Ms. fr. 6092,* a small quarto in a modern binding, was copied near the end of the seventeenth century, and comes from the collection of Baluze.[2]

The author is evidently Jean Carlier de Pinon, "écuyer, seigneur de Pinon, de Quéan, de Masnières et de Rieux en partie, qui s'établit successivement à Paris et à Cambrai."[3] He appears to have made his journey to the Orient in his youth. From it he brought back a leaf of paper, which is at the beginning of the manuscript and contains the following lines written by Hans Jacob Breuning, a German companion of his journey, whom he had met in Paris and London: —[4]

[3] *Ibid.*, ins. dove (p. 40, line 16) — derelitto. [4] *Ibid.*, ins. non (line 2) — da.

[1] Vol. XII of the *R. Or. lat.* is cited below merely as XII. Vol. XIII, of which a copy is said to exist in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale, was never distributed among the subscribers to the *Revue,* according to a note in pencil facing the title page in a copy of the edition of 1920 in the Library of Congress in Washington. Hence the few references made below to that part of the narrative belonging in Vol. XIII (i.e., pp. 186, last paragraph, – 322 of the edition of 1920) are cited from this edition.

[2] *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Baluze,* III, p. 123.

[3] XII, pp. 124–125. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 132, 137.

1579
Jucunda praeteritorum recordatio
Plus penser que dire.

Haec Domino Ioanni Carlier
de Pinon, socio et comiti iti-
neris[5] orientalis in
perpetuam memoriam et
amicitiam Scripsit Iherosolymis
13 Octobris anno ut supra
Hans Jacob Breuning

Together the two friends went to Venice, where they found transport for Egypt *en route* for Constantinople, and on April 25, 1579, they took a small boat to Malamocco and sailed from there on April 30.[6] For their travels they seem to have prepared themselves by reading, the study of maps and the procuring of letters to persons in the countries that they expected to visit. Carlier de Pinon was apparently not without cultivation, and shows himself to be a careful copyist of inscriptions and measurer of monuments.[7] On their way from Egypt they visited Athens: —[8]

Le 9e de Juin le vent nous estant contraire, fusmes portez au Capo delle colonne, lequel promontoire est au pays attique vis a vis de Capo Scillo. En ce cap delle colonne a esté anciennement quelque somptueux college pour les estudes, comme tesmoignent seize beaux pilliers bastis de pierre de marbre quarrées, que l'on y veoit a present, desquels les deux sont ruinez. Et a prins ce cap son nom desdictes colomnes. La ville d'Athenes est par dela ce cap en terre ferme douze milles. On y veoit encores quelques antiquitez, mais la pluspart ruinées, comme aussy la ville, laquelle ayant le forme d'un gros bourg, n'est antourré de murailles ou fossez. D'icy veoyons San Giorgio d'albero, isle inhabitée, et de loin a main gauche Leïgena, ou y a assez grand nombre d'habitans.

On their return journey, when they reached Tripoli, the war between the Turks and Persians as Carlier de Pinon records, "nous fist prendre resolution de nous en retourner en Chrestienté."[9]

Après avoir attendu quelques jours a Tripoli pour trouver commodité de vaisseaux, Monsieur Breuning, mon compagnon de voyage s'embarqua le 1er de Novembre sur un vaisseau de Marseille,[10] esperant de toucher a Malte, d'ou il avoit deliberé de passer en Sicile et dela en Calabre, passant par la longeur de l'Italie, pour s'en retourner en Allemagne.

[5] *Ms.*, "nostri" is written at this point and erased. [6] XII, p. 144.
[7] XII, pp. 134, 136. [8] *Ms.*, fol. 14v; XII, p. 169. [9] *Ed. 1920*, p. 297.
[10] Breuning, p. 281: "Verliesse also per forza mein Reyssgesellen Jean Carlier de Pinon, allhiezu Tripoli: Dann er muste noch länger auff seine Venedische Nave la Bonnalta warten." P. 283: ". . . begab ich mich den ersten Novembris auff die Nave le petit Sainct Esprit."

The winds interfering with this plan, he went to Marseilles.

Fust contrainct de prendre la poste a Marseille pour Lyon, d'ou il me vint trouver, quelques huict jours après que je fus arrivé a Venize, de retour de ce voyaige de Levant.

Mais j'avais deliberé de retourner a Venize auparavant que d'achever le voyaige du reste de l'Italie. Quy fust cause que je m'embarquay le 8° de Novembre sur une nave venitienne nommée Bonalda.[11]

On January 7 they anchored in the Laguna ("le lac de Venise"), where they lay at quarantine till the 23rd, when they were permitted to enter the city.[12]

Deux ou trois jours après arriva en la dicte ville Monsieur Breuning, mon compagnon du susdict voyaige de levant, avecq lequel je partys puis après, le 19e de Mars, pour faire le voyaige de reste de l'Italie.[13]

2.

HANS JACOB BREUNING VON UND ZU BUOCHENBACH[14]

Orientalische Reyss | Dess Edlen unnd | Vesten, Hanss Jacob Breuning, | von und zu Buochenbach, so er selbander | in der Türckey, under dess Türckischen Sultans | *Jurisdiction* und Gebiet, so wol in Europa als Asia vnnd | Africa, ohn einig Cuchium oder FreyGleit, benantlich | in GriechenLand, Egypten, Arabien, Palestina, | das Heylige Gelobte Land und Syrien, nicht ohne | sondere grosse Gefahr, vor dieser | zeit verrichtet.

Alles in Fünff underschiedliche | Meerfahrten *disponirt* und abgetheylet, | auch was in einer jeden derselben von tag zu tag fürgangen, ordentlich vom *Authore* selbsten verzeichnet: | darinn ein jede abgesonderte Materj under ihr eigen | Capitel oder Titul gebracht, und mit schönen | Kupfferstücken gezieret.

Mit angehenckter Summarischer *Com* | *putation* aller Meylen: sampt einem kurzen *Ap* | *pendice,* und aussführlichen Registern, sowol der | Capitel als anderer denckwirdigen sachen.

[11] *Ed. 1920,* p. 298. [12] *Ibid.,* pp. 307–308.

[13] Breuning, *Loco Appendicis* (at the beginning):

Als ich nun zu Massilia meiner gelegenheit nach genugsam aussgeruhet name ich in Anno 1580. Den 8 Januarii durch die Provintz unnd Delphinat meinen weg auff Lugdum oder Leon. [A list of places on his route follows] . . . Und bin endlich den 2 Februarij wider gen Venetia oder Venedig, als an das ort von welchem auss, ich anfangs die Orientalische Reyss in Türckey fürgenommen gereicht und kommen. Traff daselbsten mit Frewden an meinen Lieben Reyssgesellen, Monsieur Jean Carlier de pinon. Als nun seeiner dem andern genugsam *relation* gethan was such seyt unsers abschiedis von Tripoli in Syria Phoeniciae auss mit jedem verlossen wir uns auch beyde alhie genugsam mit einender recreirt, haben wir endlich entschlossen Italiam besser zu besichtigen.

[14] In the printed text the lines of the title and the title-page are indicated by the straight marks reproduced here; a slanting mark is frequently used for the comma, and sometimes with the comma, which also stands alone; the slanting marks are not reproduced below, but the places of the commas are preserved. Throughout, the words italicized below are in Roman, the rest in German type; in a few instances the horizontal suspended mark, the familiar abbreviation for the letter *n,* is employed. See, e.g., Keyserlichē, p. 44, line 11; berühmbtē, p. 44, line 18.

Mit Röm. Kays. May. Freiheit.

Gedruckt zu Strassburg bey Johann | Carolo im Jahr, M.DCXII.

BOOK I, TITLE-PAGE.

Erste Meerfahrt, | von Venedig auff Constantino | pel, durch das Adriatische und Ionische | Meer, Item durch *Archipelagum* oder *Mare Ae* | *gaeum,* nachmals durch *Hellespontum,* folgents durch *Propontidem, Proconnesum,* oder *Mare di Mar* | *mora,* auch durch *Bosphorum Thraciae,* | auff *Pontum Euxinum,* oder *Mare Negro.*

Darinnen meldung geschicht, | Erstlich der Stadt Valona, mit angehengtem Summarischem Bericht | Griechenlands, sonderlich von *Athen,* Item vieler | namhafften Insulen, under andern von *Corfu* und *Zante,* auch kurze nachrichtung *Asiae Mi* | *noris, Nattolia* genant.

Fürnehmblich daselbsten von den *Ruinis* | der Uhralten Stadt Troia, Chalcedone | und Chryspoli.

Insonderheit aber von den Keyserlichē *Residentz Constantinopel,* auch von der | Türcken Religion, Sitten und | Gebräuchen.

Breuning von Buochenbach, as has been said above, sailed from Venice on April 30, 1579, in company with Jean Carlier de Pinon.[15]

(*P. 34*) DAS IX CAPITEL.

Wie wir von Zante folgends durch mare Ionium und mare *Aegaeum* geschiffet, auch von vielen namhafften Insulen sonderlich von Cerigo unnd Milo, auch anderen denckwirdigen orten. Unnd wie wir durch Fortuna, in terra Attica, angeworffen, auch daselbsten von der berhümbtē Stadt Athen.....

(*P. 36*) IX JUNII.

Den neundten sahen wir zur rechtē ein unbewohnte Insel, *S. Giorgio d'Albero* genant. Und fürwerts *Leigena,* welche wol bewohnet. Wurden vor mittag zeitlich durch *Fortuna,* an *terram Atticam* geschlagen, und benötiget, an *Capo delle colonne* (so vor zeiten promontorium Sunnium genant) die Ancker zu werffen. Liessen uns alda zu Landsetzen.

Fornen auff diesem *Capo* in der höhe stehen viertzehen Marmelsteinere Seulen, ligen auch zwo, so umbgefallen, hiebey auff der erden. Von diesen wird das *promontorium denominirt,* unnd *capo delle colonne* genant. Alhie haweten die *Fanti* brenholtz zu täglichem gebrauch der *Nave.*

Von hinnen hatten wir biss gen Athen, eine kleine halbe tagreyss, die Landschafft ist Bergig, Steinig, und rauch: Derhalben auch ([16]wie in Historien zu lesen) die *Athenienses* insonderheit vor anderen Griechen ihre *colonias* anderswohin gemacht.....

ATHENAE aber, ist auff den heutigen Tag, wie ein anderer offener schlechter Flecken. Alda ist zu sehen der Felsen darauff *Templum Palladis* gestanden. An welches ort eine Vestung *Satine* genant, erbawet ist, darauff dann (*p. 37*) der Sāgiacko wohnet. Biñ diese stadt sein auch etliche *ruinae* vō *aquaeductibus* übrig. Sonsten ist alda wenig zu sehen.

[15] See above, p. 42.

[16] The printed text omits this mark for parenthesis.

Ob nun wol Griechenland in gemein, unnd insonderheit Athen, vor Jahren, gleichsam eine Mutter und ernehrerin aller guten Künsten, unnd disciplinen gewesen, Dannenhero andere Völcker alle Weissheit (so sie haben mögen) genommen, unnd empfangen: Ist es doch jetzmalen, so gar darvon kommen, das weder allhie oder sonsten Irgend im ganzen Lande eintzige *Universitet* gefunden. Dann bey den Griechen alle gute Künsten, unnd Tugenden (deren sie sehr wenig achten) dermassen erloschen, das sie viel mehr ihre Kinder, in müssigang, allen Lastern und Schanden, viehischer rholoser weiss aufferziehen.

Müssen also an statt guter Policey, Ordnungen und Satzungen, so sie etwan von *Solone, Dracone, Cecrope, Deucalione, Jono, Lycurgo, Nicodoro, Mino,* Und anderen iren *Legislatoribus* empfangen, heutiges Tags, dess Türcken Tyranney underworffen sein, und sich nach desselbigen gebotten und verbotten in allweg richten. Von *Capo delle Colonne* biss gen Athen, mögen ungefährlich 12. Meilen sein.

The ship was held at Sunium until June 11.

IX

BESCHREIBUNG DER REISEN DES REINHOLD LUBENAU

Mitteilungen aus der Stadtbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr., IV–VII. herausgegeben von W. Sahm, I Teil (Schluss). II Teil (1 Lieferung). II Teil (2 Lieferung). Königsberg i. Pr. Kommissions-Verlag von Ferd. Beyers Buchhandlung (Thomas & Oppermann): 1912, 1914, 1915, 1920.

Beschreibung der Reisen des ehrenvesten, namhaften und wolweisen Herren Reinholtt Lubenauen des Eltter, Rahtsverwandten der loblichen Altenstadt Konigsbergk in Preussen, so ehr im Jahr 1573, 5. Augusti angefangen und ao. 1589 den 17. Octobris glucklichen vollendet und in sechs Bucher getheilet, darinnen alle sein Leben und Wandel, sowol wie es im auf dieser Reise wunderlich ergangen, beschreiben zu Lob, Preus, Ehre und Danck dem ewigen, almechtigen, barmhertzigen Gott, dehr in wunderbarlicher Weise auf dieser seiner Reise erhalten, beschutzet und beschirmet und widerumb frisch und gesundt in sein liebes Vaterland bracht hatt.[1]

At the end of the *Vorrede* (*Ms.*, p. 12) the date is given:[2]

Ao. 1628. 24 Februa[r] im 71 und 7 Monats Jahres meines Alters.
Reinholtt Lubenau,
der Eltter.

The diary of Lubenau is published by Sahm from a manuscript in the Stadtbibliothek of Königsberg given to the library by a grandson of Lubeneau, Heinrich

[1] Title of the manuscript, Sahm, I, following p. XIII. This edition is cited below by merely the part and page. The words between the asterisks below on p. 48 are marginal notes evidently by the author.

[2] I, p. 9.

Perbandt, and forming the principal, though somewhat scanty, source for the facts of Lubeneau's life.[3] He was born in Königsberg, August 5, 1556, the son of Martin Lubeneau, a malt-brewer, and Margarethe, his wife. He appears to have been educated at the parochial school, Altstädtische Pfarrschule, of Königsberg, and was early placed by his parents at service in the family of Jakobus Montanus, physician in ordinary and court apothecary.[4] In the atmosphere of this household, where he grew up, his desire for travel, later extensively gratified, was awakened and fostered.[5] The journeys to which he refers in the title of his work began when he was seventeen years old with a trip to Poland; in 1580 he travelled in Germany and Hungary, between both absences returning to Königsberg.[6] Having again started on a European journey he had reached Vienna when, in 1587, he joined there as apothecary an embassy sent by the Emperor Rudolph II to Constantinople with the yearly "present" of the Empire to the Porte[7] under the leadership of Bartholemew Petz, "Orator et Legatus."[8] After having spent a year and a half in Constantinople (a period marred by disagreements with Petz[9]), when, as he says, "ich . . . nicht länger bleiben wollte,"[10] he succeeded, not without difficulty, in securing passage on a Turkish galley that was making a cruise of inspection in the Mediterranean.[11] It is with this voyage that the following narrative is concerned:

Table of Contents (*Ms.* pp. 21–38)

Das funfte Buch[12]

Ist eine Beschreibung des authoris Reise von Constantinopel aus auf das Mare Mediteraneum, durch den Hellespontum auf Troia, Lemno, Nigroponto, Athen, Corintho, Napoli de Romani und ferner rundt umb das Mare Mediteraneum, auf Chio, Candia und Venedigk.

Das 22. Capittel.[13]

Wie wier von Nigropont wegk gefahren und gehn Athen komen.

Den 3. octobris gahr fruhe, . . . fuhren wier mit Rudern wiederumb davon und haben auf beiden Seitten in Achaia und Euboea von weitten in Lande etliche Schlosser und Stete gesehen, sonderlich Piro, eine schone Festung und port in Achaia, und haben den gantzen Tagk im Zuruckfahren zugebracht, aber trefliche Landtschaften die sehr fruchtbahr von

[3] I, p. III; reverse of title page of the manuscript.
[4] I, p. VI.
[5] I, p. 60: "Mein gantzer Sin und Meinung von Jugent auf dahin gerichtet wahr viel Lender und Stete zu sehen, und wo es möglich gewesen, den ganzen Erdtbodem umzuwandern."
[6] I, pp. VI, VII.
[7] I, p. 201: "Wier nennen es wol mitt einem höflichen Nahmen die Present. Aber der Turck nennt es Caratsch, das ist Tribut."
[8] I, pp. VII, 60–62.
[9] I, p. VIII.
[10] II, p. 121.
[11] I, pp. VIII, IX; II, pp. 119–129.
[12] I, p. 23.
[13] I, pp. 176–181; *Ms.*, pp. 649–656.

beiden Seitten gesehen. Wier seindt umb ein grosses Promontorium oder Vorgebirge, so man Sunium genandt, itzo Capo de Columbas,[14] und das Landt wirdt Attica genandt, darinnen auch eine Stadt und Festung leidt, so Attica heist, gefahren. Die Sclaven musten mitt Gewaldt rudern, diweil der Windt gantz contrari wahr; endtlich sei wier umb Atticam herumbkomen (*Ms., p. 650*) und auf der Rechten nach dem Lande ein Hauffen Steinklippen im Mehr ligen lassen, das man fast davor nicht zu Lande komen kan, und erstrecken sich bis in den Atheniensischen Port, da eine Klippe hardt vor dem Port, und eine gahr grose fast mitten im Portt leidt. Wier seindt gahr spete gehn Athen in den Port komen, haben auch unterwegens auf der Lincken viel kleiner und groser Inseln liegen lassen, sonderlich Arimisiam, Pario, Niciam. Die andern haben keine Nahmen. Sie mögen auch wol Nahmen haben, aber wahren den Turcken und Sclaven, die ich gefraget, so hardt bei meiner Bancken ruderten, unbekant. Theils wahren auch weidt abgelegen, das man sie von ferne nicht wol sehen kunte. Unterweilen hab ich auch ein wenigk geschlafen, und ist auch, wie vorgemeldt, zwischen den Cicladischen Inseln sonsten gahr vol Steinklippen. Wier seindt in den Portam Liniae, so vorzeitten bei den Alten Piraeus geheissen, eingefahren.

Das 23. Capittel.

Beschreibung der Stadt Athen und derselben Festung und itziger Zeidt Gelegenheit und Zustandt.

Nebenst diesem Port ist ein groses, festes von weissen Marmor Schlos mitt gewaltigen Pasteien und Streichwehren gebauet, welches auf (*p. 177*) einem Vorgeburge, so sich weidt ins Mehr erstrecket, leidt, und vor Zeiten Martisbergk genandt, in weiches Mitten ein gewaltiger Tempel, dem Abgott Marte zu Ehren, sol gestanden sein[15] und sol Dionisius Areopagita zu Apostels Pauli Zeitten darauf gewohnet haben, welcher ein Richter der uber Blutt und wichtige Hendel gerichtet, gewesen und von Paulo zum christlichen Glauben bekehret worden. Es sollen gewaltige Mauren gebauet gewesen sein (*Ms., p. 651*), die den Port beschlossen haben, aber zu meiner Zeit wahr nichts mehr davon verhanden. Es ist aber sonst ein groser, herlicher und sicherer Port, da viel Schiffe in liegen konnen, und ist auch grose Handlung in Athen. Es wahren viel Schiffe im Port von Frantzosen und Italianern.

Die Stadt ist auch noch sehr gros und zimlich bebauet; wohnen Grichen, Juden, Turcken und viel Italianer drein, und ist alhie die italianische Sprache gahr gemein. Es gibt aus dem Lande, welches umb die Stadt leidt, und Attica genandt wird, viel Seide, Baumwol, Gallas und schones Wachs, welches die Venediger lieber haben den anderes, weil es sich schon bleichen lest; den ist es ohne das fast weisgelb, und ist der Honigk in den Ertzeneien bei den alten Grichen in hohem Werdt gehalten worden, so man Mel Atticum genandt, aber von den meisten groben, unerfahrnen Apotekern, die ohne das aus Unverstandt andere verachten, wenigk inacht genohmen, denen es ein geringes, das sie quid pro spuo nehmen, welches ihr bester Behelf, wen sie ein Dingk nicht verstehen, und mögen wol der Medicorum Sudelkoch genandt werden. Die Stadt leidt auf einem Felsen, und anfenglich vom Konige Cecrops, der bei Moisi Zeitten gelebet, gebauet worden, und Cecropia genandt, darnach Mopsia, Jonia und zuletzt von der Gotten

[14] Sahm notes that this is the southern point of Attica.

[15] Sahm considers this probably a reference to the Areopagus.

Athena, die sonst Minerva, den Nahmen bekomen. *Itziger Zeit wirdt sie von den Turcken Setina genandt.* Es seindt sehr viel alter Gebeude binnen und ausserhalb der Stadt zu sehen. Es wahr ein Griche alda verhanden, Tiburtius Malpa genandt, der sich fast wie ein Meckler ernehret. Dieser kam an mich, erforschet, was mein Thuen wehre und nachdem ehr vernahm, das ich ein Apoteker wahr, fuhret ehr mich zu einem medico, Abrahamus Sfortius genandt, welcher (*Ms., p. 652*) vor dem ein Jude gewesen, und zu Padua etliche Jahr sturdiret hatte, aber nachmahls den grichischen Christenglauben en sich genohmen. Mitt diesem machte ich Kundtschaft; den ehr gahr ein feiner, alter, fromer Man wahr und der grichischen, italianischen und lateinischen, sowol der turckischen und hebraischen Sprachen kundigk. Ich bekam auch gutte Gelegenheit, mich bei im auf (*p. 178*) zuhalten. Dieweil ich erfahren, das der General aus allen Castellen herumb die Verwalter *und Samiagk Begen, das seindt die Landtrichter,* zu sich hett fordern lassen and also diesen Tagk alhie verbleiben wurde, wo wardt auch alhie allerlei Proviant eingekaufet, dieweil das Landt herumb sehr fruchtbar ist, und also alles umb gering Geldt magk gekaufet werden. *Diese Stadt ist eine Mutter aller freien Kunste in der gantzen weitten Weldt gewesen,* Solon, Socrates, Plato, Aristotiles, Demosthenes und viel andere weise, auch streitbahre Menner haben in dieser Stadt gelebt. Dieser Medicus fuhret mich in seinem Gartten, der sehr schon wahr, von allerlei Fruchten. Ehr fuhret mich auch in der Stadt umher, welche mit starcken Mauren umbgeben. Es wohnen aber mehr Leutte, sonderlich die Turcken, ausserhalb der Stadt, den binnen, weil es herumb treflich viel Gertten hatt. Und auf eine viertel Meil weges ist es alles eben Landt; darnach ist es birgigk. Dieses Geburge ist mit lautter Öhlbeumen, Citronen, Limonien und Pomerantzen bewachsen, welche so einen herlichen Geruch geben, das sich zuverwundern. Darin sitzen im Schatten bei den kuhlen Brunnen die Grichen, und konnen so lieblich singen. Einer intoniret, der ander und dritte volget und figuriren so schon, als wan es die abgerichtesten Musici wehren. Wier seindt wiederumb nach der Stadt geeilet.

In der Stadt hatt ehr mihr ein Ohrt gezeiget, da noch 25 Marmorseulen stehen, etwa drei Man hoch und zimlich dicke, da ohne Zweifel ein grosser Pallast gestanden, und daneben (*Ms., p. 653*) lagen viel zerbrochner Quaderstuck. Nicht weidt davon wahren zwei andere weisse Seulen, da sol Aristotiles, wie sie sagen, sein Palatium gehabt haben. Noch stehen an einem andern Ohrt ausserhalb der Stadt etliche Marmorseulen und ein zerfallenes, groses Gebeude, welches ein schoner, lustiger Platz ist. Den nennen die Grichen Sanct Georgi, und fugen sich oft viel Grichen dahin, die daselbst ihr Kurtzweil haben. Sagen, dieses sei eine vortrefliche, hohe Schule gewesen. Es wollen aber etzliche Alexandri Magni Palatium sei alda gestanden. Es leidt die Stadt in einem herlichen, gesunden Ohrt, und seindt alda Leutte verhanden, die uber hundert Jahr geleht, und ihnen von keiner Pestilentz, die alda sol grassiret haben, wissende, ob es schon sonsten in der Nehe herumb gestorben. Und gibt an diesem Ohrt viel alter Leutte. Es hatt in der Stadt noch eine schone Kirchen von marmor Quaderstucken, wo auch vor Zeitten eine vornehme, hohe Schule sol gewesen sein, und stehen viel Gebeude herumb, alle von weissem Marmor. Nachmals ist es eine Christenkirche worden, itzo aber eine Moskea oder turckische Kirch. Es hatt sonsten viel grichischer (*p. 179*) Kirchen drein, auch judische Sinagogen, sowol etliche bebstische Kirchen. Das Schlos ist gantz weitleuftig, und melden die Grichen, das auch im Schlos eine hohe Schule gestanden. In dieser Stadt ist alles gahr wolfeil. Ein Huen vor einen Asper, vor ein Asper ein Hauffen Eyer, allerlei Zugemuse die Fulle, darauf sich auch die Grichen am meisten legen. In vorgedachter Moskea stehet auf mosaische Ahrt von Glas ein Marienbilde mit Jhesu in den Armen; dieses

geben die Grichen vor, das es die Turcken haben wollen aushacken; aber der Turcke, der es hab thuen wollen, sei verlahmet (*Ms., p. 654*) Ausserhalb der grosen Palatia hatt es sonsten gahr niedrige Heuser, wie in gantz Grichenlandt, und den mehrentheil ohne Decher, nur ein Östrich darauf, der von Leim und Mehrschilf zugerichtet. Die Palatia aber seindt alle von Quaderstucken, und mehrentheil von Marmor gebauet gewesen, dessen es an diesen Ohrtten gahr viel gibt.

Es hatt neulich der turckische Keiser in diese Festung noch etlich Hundert Janiczaren gesandt, dieselbe desto bas zu besetzen, weil man zu Constantinopel ausgesprenget, es hette der Hispanier die englische Armada erleget, und wehren mit Gewaldt durch die Strase komen, des Turcken Landt zu berauben. Und weil dieses fast von den furnembsten wolerbauesten und reichsten Ohrtern eine ist, hatt ehr desto bas diese, sowol auch die Festung bei Corintho, so Acrocorinthus, von den Turcken Caranto genandt wirdt, besetzen lassen, die Einwohner fur dem Uberfal zu beschützen. Nachdem ich noch Zeitt hatte, gingk ich mit dem Medico hin zwischen den Gertten, die Festung abzureissen; den weil ich keinen sicheren Ohrt hatte, kont ich zu Abreisung der Stadt nicht komen. Ich hatte einen Soldaten mit, ohn welchen ich nimmer in terra firma aus der Galleen gingk. Der Medicus aber wideritt mihr, es treulich. Wie ich es nun fast die Helfte verrichtet hatte, kamen drei Janiczaren von der Festung, nahmen mihr meine grose Schreibtafel, darin ich viel Sachen abgerissen und viel grichischer Schriften zu Nicea, Nicomedia und sonsten hin und wieder abgeschrieben hette, und wolten mich als einen Verrehter wegkschleppen. Der Medicus sowol der Soldat, so bei mihr wahr, zeiget ihnen an, ich wehre der Konigin von Engelandt Diener, wehr dazu auf des Generals Aassam Bassa Galleen mit der Armada dahin komen; sie soltten zusehen was sie theten. Es half aber nichts, treckten mich fort nach der Festung. Da saget der Medicus zu mihr (*Ms., p. 655*): Er sehe wol, es wehr ihnen umb Geldt zu thuen, nach welchem die Turcken gantz euverigk, Ich badt, sie solten mit mihr in die Galleen gehen, ich wolte ihnen eine Verehrung geben, aber daran wolten sie nicht. Da zogk ich (*p. 180*) einen Thaler heraus und gab ihnen den. Da sie den bekamen, lissen sie mich los und liffen davon. Ich batt sehr umb meine Schreibtafel; aber sie woltens mihr nicht geben. Der Medicus wie auch der Soldat, so bei mihr wahr, sagten, ich solte es nur dem General klagen; aber ich gedachte, es möchte konftigk der Obriste eine Ursach gewinnen, mich forter aus der Galleen nicht zu lassen, und möchte mihr allerlei Ungelegenheit daraus entstehen, wolte es lieber verschmertzen, und damit mihr nicht ander Ungluck zuhender stis, gingk ich davon. Und habe nachmals von der Galleen die Festung abgerissen wie sie vorhanden. Sonsten seindt in der Stadt noch alter Antiquitäten von zerbrochnen Seulen und Schriften, die doch mehrentheil von Alter nicht konnen gelesen werden, zu sehen, und wissen die itzigen Grichen gantz wenigk davon zu sagen. Auch findet man viel alter römischer Sachen in Stein gehauen. Balde stehet hie ein Stuck, balde leidt da ein Stuck auf der Erden, das man eigentlich nicht wissen kan, was es sein sol. Ich fandt auf einem Stuck Stein Trib: pont: Max: noch auf einem andern VI Cons: Atticus, Germa. Es ist diese Stadt bei Mahometi Secundi Zeitten, der Constantinopel hatt eingenohmen, unter die Turcken komen. Wier seindt auch nach der Galleen gangen, dieweil sich der Abendt herzu nahete. Der Medicus verehret mihr etliche Fruchte aus seinem Garten und geleitet mich, batt mich umb etliche descriptiones medicamentorum (*Ms., p. 656*), die ich nun auch mittheilet. Der General Obriste kam auch kurtz nach uns in die Galleen, dem der Bek das geleite gab, nebenst andern Samiak Begen und Befehlichshabern, gesegneten einander. Der General leget sich in sein Losement zu Ruhe.

Das 24 Capitell.

Wir wier von Athen geschieden, gehn Corintho kamen, sowol den Zustandt der itzigen Zeit mit der Stadt.

Den 5. octobris in Mitternacht seindt die Galleen widerum aus dem Port gefahren; sahen im Lande auf einem Berge eine starcke Festung ligen, mit einem viereckten, starcken Thurm in der Mitten, Sethina[16] genandt. Und haben balde auf der rechten Handt noch einen schonen Portum vor die Schiffe liegen lassen, welcher vorzeiten auch zur Stadt sol gehöret haben. Itzo aber lagen keine Schiffe drein. Wier seindt mit halbem Winde gesigelt, und umb den Mittagk gehn Coranto wie es itzo genandt wirdt oder Corinthum in dem Portum Cenchream noch itzo (*p. 181*) also genandt, komen.

Lubenau's journey ended February 24, 1628. He returned to Königsberg, where he passed the rest of his life. He died May 17, 1631.[17]

X

MICHAEL HEBERER VON BRETTEN, *AEGYPTIACA SERVITUS*

Das ist wahrhafte Beschreibung einer dreyjährigen Dienstbarkeit, so zu Alexandrien in Egypten ihren Anfang, und zu Constantinopel ihre Endschafft genommen.

Gedruckt zu Heydelberg/in Gotthard Vögelins Druckerey.

No date is given. The Preface is dated August 14, 1610. In 4°.

The captivity of Heberer ended in 1588.[1] He was in Constantinople at the same time as Reinhold Lubenau,[2] but left there earlier than he, sailing for Malta, April 12, 1588.[3] He passed by Tenedos to Lemnos, and thence headed for Cerigo, but by winds was forced off the Morea to Melos.[4] His way from Lemnos to the Morea led him not far from Athens, to which, with Corinth, he accords a brief notice: —

(p. 411) [5]Also fuhren wir unsern vorgenommenen weg in dem *Archipelago* fort/nicht

[16] Sahm's note here is: "Setina, Vorgebirge Sete, in der Nähe des Hafens Port Louis oder Port de Sete unfern des Lionischen Meerbusens."

[17] I, pp. IX, X.

[1] For letters according him free passage signed "Savary," dated April 8, 1588, and "Breves," dated April 9, 1588, see *ed. cit.*, pp. 402, 403, 405.

[2] Heberer von Bretten mentions (p. 400) the embassy of D. Bartolomeus Petz (see above, p. 46, note 8): "Darnach verfügte ich mich nach Constantinopel, von denselben Teutchen/und wo mueglich/von dem Herrn Oratore Betzen selber/einen Abschiedt zu nemmen."

[3] Pp. 406–407. [4] Pp. 410–411.

[5] The words printed in Roman in distinction from the German type are italicized below. The mark / is used for the comma.

weit von Athen/so wir auff der Rechten Hand liegen liessen/wie auch *Corinthum.* Die beyde weitberümbte Städt/die vor der zeit so hoch gehalten/jetzundt geringen verachten Dörffen gleich/sonderlich Athen/von denen auch die Römer sich nicht geschewet/ihre Gesetz zu holen/als auss einem Zeughaus der Weisheit/wie sie dann wegen der Hochgelärten Leute ihrer Schulen darfür gehalten worden.

XI

FRANÇOIS ARNAUD

VOIAGE EN LEVANT ET EN JERUSALEM

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS., *Fonds français, 19896.*

Published by Henri Omont, "Voyages à Athènes, Constantinople et Jérusalem de François Arnaud (1602–1605)," in *Florilegium, ou Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à Monsieur le Marquis Melchior de Vogüé à l'occasion du quatre-vingtième anniversaire de sa naissance. 18 octobre, 1909* (Paris: 1909), pp. 467–484.[1]

The manuscript, from which the text below is published, is a 4° of nineteen folios (0.212 x 0.150 mm.) and came from the Abbey of St-Germain-des-Près (No. 2 of the package 10 of the *Résidu St-Germain*). The title is on the first leaf.[2]

It contains the account of two journeys by François Arnaud, one to Athens and Constantinople in 1602, and the other to Jerusalem in 1605. He was a captain of Marseilles commanding the "gallion" of François Savary de Brèves, ambassador of France to the Porte.[3] On the first voyage Arnaud went from Marseilles to Athens, where he visited the monuments, then left for Messina. More than a month later he sailed to some islands of the Archipelago, Mt. Athos, and again to Athens, where he remained a month. He then went for five months to Constantinople, where he met François de Gontaut-Biron, Baron de Salignac, and accompanied him on his second voyage, namely to Jerusalem, since Salignac, after having signed the capitulations of 1604, passed through the Holy Land *en route* for France.[4]

(*fol. 2*) *Voyage faict par moy François Arnaud, Cappne du gallion de Monseigneur de Breves, ambassadeur pour le Roy treschrestien à la Porte du Grand Seigneur, en l'année 1602.*

(*fol. 3r*) Premierement, partans de Marseillis, passasmes à Malthe, de[5] là aux Zanthes, des Zantes à Modon, de la au Serigo et dedit lieu en Athenes, où j'ay veu ce que s'ensuict:

[1] Cited merely as "Omont." His identification of the monuments is given below.
[2] Omont, p. 467.
[3] See below, p. 56.
[4] Omont, pp. 467–468.
[5] *Ms.*, di.

ΑΙΔ'ΕΙΣ' · ΑΘΗΝΑΙ · ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ·
Η ΠΡΙΝ · ΠΟΛΙΣ · ΑΙΔΕΙΣ ·
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ · ΚΑΙ · ΟΥΧΙ ·
ΘΗΣΕΩΣ · ΠΟΛΙΣ ·[6]

(*fol. 3v*) Et sur le chasteau y a un temple faict en devotion du Dieu incogneu,[7] soubstenu de 46 colonnes de marbre, et hors la porte s'y voict 17 colonnes aussy de marbre, & là les habitans disent y avoir 300 desdictes colonnes servant de pillotis à une gallerie, qui alloit didict temple jusques hors la ville, auquel lieu[8] se pourmenoit les Empereurs.

Dans la ville se voit un palaix tout ruyné, où se voieoient beaucoup de colonnes, et, à ce qu'on dict, là estoict le palaix de l'empereur Adriam, soubstenu de 360 colonnes.[9]

Auprès dudict palaix on voit une porte fort anthique, en laquelle y a une grand (*sic*) pierre de marbre, où est escript toute la police et reglement que tenoict la cité.

Et l'autre part de la cité on voit le Temple d'Apollo,[10] soubstenu de 34 colonnes de marbre, quy à la mort de nostre Redempteur se separarent comme se voit, lequel est enrichy d'une belle cornisse de marbre, avecq des petits personages fort admirables, et a 40 pas de long et 20 de large.

(*fol. 4r*) Un peu plus hault et sur une colinne se voit, au lieu où fesoit sa demeure S^{t} Denis Areopagite, un oracle qui estant animé d'un mauvais demon donnoit responce aux demandes[11] qu'on luy faisoict, lequel print fin à l'arrivée de Monsieur S^{t} Paul, et d'icelluy en voict-on encore quelque partie avec quelque triomphe et estatues anthiques toutes ruynées.

Et dans la cité se voit un grand fanal de marbre, qu'on dict estoit d'Aristote.[12]

Plus on voit la demeure de Pithagoras, faicte à la façon d'un domo tout de marbre, autour duquel y a 8 grands personnaiges relevés, fort bien faictes, et aucuns veulent dire que c'estoict l'estufve dudict Pithagoras; ce qu'est à croire pour n'y avoir en lieu de fenestres que quelques trous.[13]

Encor voict-on de grandes portes soustenues de plusieurs colonnes de marbre, où y a d'escriptz, que n'ay peu copier causant leur grands hauteur.

Il se voict beaucoup d'estatues de marbre, fort (*fol. 4v*) belles et bien faictes, mais la pluspart d'icelles ont les yeux crevés et n'ont ny mains ny nez.

Plus, hors la ville, se voict une porte sur deux colonnes, où est escript ce que s'ensuict:

[6] Inscription on the Gate of Hadrian. According to Omont (p. 469, note 1) it was first published by Spon, *Voyage d'Italie* (1678), III, pp. 15–16. It had, however, been previously published by Raphael Maffeius Volterranus; see below, p. 64. The ms. reads Θ for Ω in Θησεως, lines 1 and 4.

[7] The Parthenon. Cf. *Vienna Anonymous*, Laborde, I, p. 24; Omont, p. 469, note 2.

[8] *Ms.*, "y avoict" has been written after "lieu" and erased.

[9] Olympieum; Omont, p. 469, note 3.

[10] Theseum; Omont, p. 470, note 1, which is obviously misplaced in the paragraph that follows, but evidently refers to the "Temple of Apollo."

[11] *Ms.*, dimandes.

[12] The monument of Lysicrates, the Lantern of Demosthenes: Omont, p. 470, note 2.

[13] The hydraulic clock of Andronicus Cyrrhestes on the Tower of the Winds; Omont, p. 470, note 3.

IMP. CÆSAR. T. AELIUS AUG. COS.
III TRIB. POT. II. P. R. AQUÆDUCTUM
IN NOVIS //// consumavit ////[14]

Les habitans disent que là estoit l'escolle Daristote, de plus voict on le lieu où se faisoient les joustes, avec de grandes places taillïées au roc vif, et se voit dans du roc où posoient des idoles.

A 3000 de la ville y a ung port nonpareil, à l'emboucheure duquel y avoict une tour de chasque coste, et se fermoict avecq une chayne comme celluy de Marseillis, et dans ledict port, à main gauche, y avoit une darseno, où estoict la demeure des gallaires. Ledict port (*fol. 5r*) a 8 brasses de fonds, 4000 de longeur, 1000 de largeur et 125 pas à l'emboucheure. Et à la fin dudict port y a ung lion, du poidz d'environ cinq cens quintaux.[15]

En entrant dans le goulche d'Athenes on voit ung cap nommé cap Colonne, parce qu'il y a plusieurs colonnes, auquel antiennement on faisoict sentinelle et guarde pour voir les armées quy alloient et venoient.

Il y a une isle dicte Helena, en laquelle se prent du bois d'ebeno.

Audict Athenes je chargis de merchandises et m'en allis à Messine en Sicille, et passis 32 jours. Je fis voile et m'en allay dans l'Archipellaige, et passis en deux petites isles nommées les Escoles,[16] où je mis pied en terre et vis beaucoup des estatues de marbre et sur tout ung geant et une geante et un (*fol. 5v*) theatre. Les Venitiens ont une forteresse tout au pied desdictes Escolles, qu'ils nomment le Tino, et journellement mandent auxdictes Escolles 15 ou 20 hommes, quy creusent et trouvent force anthiquités. Partant de là j'alis à l'isle de Paris,[17] où aussy on voict beaucoup d'anthiquités. De là alis à Sio, et de Sio à Esmierne,[18] où se voict ung theatre et force estatues toutes ruynées, et à 800 pas de là on voict ung chasteau tout ruyné, où disent que residoit la belle Hellayne. Partant de là je passis à l'isle de Methelin et arrivay à l'isle de Tenedo, où disent qu'aborda Paris, quand il eust desrobé Helayne. Dans ladicte isle on ne voict aulcune anthiquité. Et de là m'en allis à ung grand goulphe, nommé Seres, et d'icelluy à l'isle de Limenos, où se recueille la terre sigillée: partis de là m'en allis costoyant la Grece et passay au Monte Sancto, apellé antiennement des Latins le Mont Atou.

(*fol. 6r*) C'est une montaigne fort haulte et pointue, où y a force monastaires des Grecz, quy ont force belles rentes, et sur le hault de ladicte montaigne y a 25 ou 30 hermites, quy font la vie telle que faisoit S^{t} Hierosme, et ne conversent avecq personne, allant tous nudz et ne vivantz que d'herbes. Ladicte montaigne se void de 150,000 loing. Delà j'allis au goulphe de Cassandre, et se voict ung fort beau pays, fort fertille en bledz. Au partir de là je passis aux isles de Scopoli, Ly Fourny, Eschate et autres isles, et arrivis à l'isle Delpho, où y a 4 beaux portz, en laquelle isle se voit beaucoup d'anthiquités et beaucoup de lieux où tenoit des idoles. Partant de là je passay à la Bouche d'Andry, lais-

[14] For the inscription see Spon, *op. cit.*, II, 171; Omont, p. 470, note 4. "Consumavit," unlike the rest of the inscription, is in the ms., as in Omont's text, in small letters. In Spon's illustration it occupies a line alone, in slightly larger letters than the line above (*Aug.* — *novis*) and smaller than those in the first line (*Imp.* — *Ælius*).

[15] Omont, p. 471, note 1.

[16] Doubtless Andros and Tinos; Omont, p. 471, note 2.

[17] Psara; Omont, p. 471, note 3.

[18] Smyrna; Omont, p. 471, note 4.

sant d'ung costé l'isle d'Asie et de l'autre Negrepont, et m'en retournis en Athenes, et y demeury 32 jours. Et en ce temps je feus assiegé audict port de 16 (*fol. 6v*) galliotes de Ste Maure, la Volome et autres, ausquelz la robe du Turc est sy bonne que celle des Chrestiens, et estoient resolus de nous ataquer et nous prendre s'ilz eussent peu. Mais nous resolusmes et fismes conseil de mourir tous advant qu'ilz eussent cest advantaige, et se preparasmes sy bien que souhaitions qu'ilz vinssent, et demeurasmes II[19] jours avec les estandars de combat arborés à tous les arbres. Mon equipaige estoict de 103 hommes, 27 canons et eulx fayiont compte qu'estoient 700 hommes. Et, ayant faict mon chargement, je partis dudict Athenes pour m'en aller à Constantinople, où je fus en 6 jours.

XII

JULIEN BORDIER

Relation d'un Voyage en Orient

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS., *Fonds français, 18076*[1]

Julien Bordier was a squire of Jean de Gontaut-Biron, Baron de Salignac, ambassador of Henri IV at Constantinople from 1604–1610.[2] On his way to Constantinople the ambassador was offered at Venice passage to Crete on the Venetian fleet, but thought that the transfer there to another vessel would be troublesome. "Par quoy fut avisé pour le mieux de prendre un petit vaisseau ou seitie[3] marseillaise qui lors estoit à Venise pour charger quelque marchandise sur lequel se risolu[t] Mons l'Ambassadeur de s'embarquer, faisant venir à soy le patron qui s'appelloit Pierre Ynard pour savoir sy son vaisseau, qui s'appelloit St. Roc, estoit leste & de partance." Having received assurance from Ynard "que tout seroit à point à son premier comendement moyenent la somme de cinqt cent escus qui luy furent livré[s]," the ambassador sailed from Venice, November 1, 1604.[4]

After describing briefly places along the Greek coast beyond Cape Matapan, and noting Eleusis (now Lepsina or Coluri), he continues in the following passage:

(*fol. 36r*) Outre lequel tirant au Cap Sunie se voit le renomé Port de Pirée, Arsenal

[19] This numeral might perhaps be read 11.

[1] Published in part, with a life of Salignac, by Théodore de Gontaut-Biron in *Annales historiques de la Gascogne*, fasc. XVI (Paris: 1888).

[2] See Saint-Priest, pp. 68, 69, 204, 441–443.

[3] *Seitie, saietie* (O.F.), a war vessel somewhat smaller than a galley.

[4] Fol. 1or. Because of Salignac's apparent delay the king had ordered him to hasten his departure, but he is said not to have arrived in Constantinople till 1607; Saint-Priest, pp. 204, 441–443.

marin de ceste tant puissante et belliqueuse ville & cité d'Athène. I'ay cy devant dit parlant de Corinthe qu'elle estoit un oeil de la Grèce. Maintenant puis le dire q'Athène en estoit l'oeil droit, car qui voudroit entièrement narer les particulières singularités qui souloient[5] estre en ceste incomparable cité, ayant dit de Corinthe qu'il en conviendroit faire un livre entier, ie puis il me semble à meilleure raison dire qu'il en faudroit faire un tome de plusieurs.

But, as he says, "mon insufisante capacité n'estant pour me fournir les solides functions & conceptions que mériteroit le subiect pour atendre à la digne louange de ceste supresme cité," he contents himself with giving an account of the origin of the name, referring to Aristides of Smyrna, speaking of the mythical kings, the preeminence of the city in every kind of learning, in letters and also in the military art, the erection of "un fameux temple à Minerve en lieu éminent & innacessible dans lequel estoit son statue servie & honorée de filles vierges qui y mantenoient & gardoient le feu perpétuel,"[6] the preaching of St. Paul in Athens, as well as the conversion of Dionysius the Areopagite.

(*fol. 36v*) [Elle] est maintenant avortée ne produisant que Barbares infidelles, lourds, stupides, ygnorant & malicieux qui n'ont laissé que l'escorse de tant de raretés, richesses & grandeurs, dont ceste superbe cité estoit iadis triomphante sur toutes autres de cités, n'estant resté maintenant qu'um chétif vilage des Turcs, appellé Satine, où réside un misérable aga pour le Turc, lequel possède tout le pays, grandement abondant en oliviers, où se faict la meilleure huyle de Grèce. Voyons maintenant qui est après ceste désolée cité proche de laquelle passe du coste oriental le fleuve de Tholome[?][7] appellé Ilissus, après lequel fleuve se voit un asse[z] grand Bourg, que les habitans du pays apelle[n]t Macine & ancienement appellé Manychie, où y a l'un des beaux ports de tout ce Goulphe que iadis Thémistocle fit entourer de murailles avec celuy de Phalère & de Pirée pour la comodité des Athéniens. Peu plus outre ce beau port de Manychie, ou Macine, s'en voit (*fol. 37r*) un autre, le plus proche du Cap Sunie, que Ptolome appelle hyphorme (*sic*), qui fut le lieu le plus près de tout ce Goulphe où nous passâmes où ne se voit que quelques misérables Tours servant de repair[e]s à quelques pescheurs qui soudain levent le siège, voyant arriver en ce lieu les corsaires qui faict qu'il est[8] tout désert & n'ay peu (*sic*) savoir son nom moderne. Tant y a qu'environ 10 ou 12 mille plus outre est la pointe du tant renomé Cap ou Promontoire Sunie, maintenant appellé Cap des Collonnes, qui enserre tout ce grand Goulphe Saronic ou Corinthien sur les costes duquel se voit toutes les sudictes fameuses cite[s] les plus belles de Grèce.

[5] *Souloir* (O.F.), to be accustomed.

[6] Clearly the writer had no idea that the temple was still in existence.

[7] *Ms.* "Tholomer" occurs at the break in the line, and the remaining letters have been concealed in the binding.

[8] *Ms.*, qui lest.

XIII

VIAGGIO FATTO CON LE GALLERE DI SANTO STEFANO. 1620.

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, *Cod. 2651*

The manuscript is a small note-book, bound in unlettered vellum. It contains a list of books belonging to the owner, who is nowhere named. There are also brief outlines of various trips from Florence to Germany, sometimes with members of the Grand Ducal family. The writer is apparently a man of little education; he makes many mistakes in spelling and uses scanty punctuation, but his hand is not difficult to read.

(Fols. 33r–48r). Primo viaggio fatto con le Gallere di Sto. S. This cruise lasted from May 15 to October 1, 1620. After sailing around Calabria the galleys passed Zante and Cerigo, came to Hydra, cruised up toward Volo (the course is not perfectly clear), and then turned south again. On June 20–21 they coasted "per la Grecia un Belissmo paese," and passed Cape Colonna and the columns, "a contarle mai si confronta il medesimo numero sarano prima 13 et poi piu o meno che dili distante fu gia la famosa citta di Atene ciercha 30 milia ogi tutto distrutta."

The cruise apparently did not enter the Saronic Gulf nor return to these waters.

XIV

LOUIS DES HAYES, BARON DE COURMENIN

Voiage de Levant

Fait par le Commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 par Le Sr D C . Seconde édition. A Paris, Chez Adrian Taupinart, Rue St Jacques a la Sphere. 1632.[1]

Louis des Hayes, Baron de Courmenin, was appointed by Louis XIII in 1621 as ambassador extraordinary to Constantinople, his special mission being to secure

[1] In the copy of this edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, there is written between "1621" and "par": "Par Mr des Hayes, Baron de Courmenin." Our text provides no clue to the Sieur D.C., evidently a secretary of Des Hayes. Eyriés in Michaud, *Bibliographie universelle, s.v. Deshayes,* interprets the initials as standing for "de Courmenin"; Omont (*Florilegium,* Paris, 1909, p. 468) suggests that the Sieur D.C. may be Jacques Du Chastel, who collected the accounts of the voyage to the East made by François Savary de Brèves, French ambassador to the Porte from 1589 to 1606. Saint-Priest, p. 201: *Relation des voyages de Monsieur de Brèves, tant en Grèce, Terre saincte et AEgypte, qu'aux royaumes de Tunis et Arger et Trois Discours dudit sieur, le tout recueilly par le S. D.C.* (Paris: Nicolas Gasse, 1628, avec privilege du roy).

the reestablishment of the Holy Places at Jerusalem and Bethlehem then held by the Armenians, to place a French consul at Jerusalem in order to protect the Cordeliers in the future, to offer to the Holy Sepulchre a silver chapel with rich ornaments, and to make contributions toward the restoration of the churches. He was to go by way of Hungary and try to mediate in the threatened war between Turkey and Poland.[2] From this journey he is said to have returned successfully in 1622, and was later sent on other missions.[3]

The first edition of his *Voiage* (Paris: 1624) contains nothing about Greece. To the second edition the publisher has prefixed the following note:

Le Libraire au Lecteur. Ie te donne pour la seconde fois la Relation d'un voyage de Levant. . . . Ie te diray seulement que tu dois recevoir cette derniere edition encores plus favorablement que la premiere. Car outre que l'Autheur a corrigé beaucoup de fautes qui s'y estoient contées tu verras qu'il y a adjousté plusieurs choses notables qu'il a observées en un troisiesme voyage que depuis deux ans il a fait à Constantinople par le milieu de la Grece, dont tu trouveras icy la description.

A third edition appeared in 1643.

After the account of the return by sea from the Holy Land to Messina and Rome, with which the first edition concludes, the second edition adds:[4]

Outre ce voyage de *Constantinople* & de *Hierusalem,* i'en ay fait encores deux autres en Levant avec le sieur des Hayes, & parce que ç'a esté par des chemins tous differents, i'ay pensé que pour satisfaire entierement à la curiosité de ceux qui prendront la peine de lire ceste relation, ie devois succinctement rapporter ce que l'on y voit de plus remarquable.

There are, we are told, four ways to go from France to Constantinople — by sea, by Hungary, by Greece and by Slavonia. By Greece the route is easy and convenient, but as it is not frequented by merchants, a Janissary or Spahi is necessary on land.[5]

The journal day by day of the second voyage[6] (March 27–June 29, 1626), the course of which was from Dijon via Switzerland, Venice, Ragusa, and overland to Constantinople, records at its end: — "I'arrivay donc a Constantinople le 29 Juin 1626, & y segiournay iusque au mois d'octobre suivan quand i'en partis

[2] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 1–2.
[3] Michaud, *loc. cit.*; Laborde, I, 62–64; A. Rabbath, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de Christianisme en Orient* (Paris: 1905–1912), I, fasc. 2 (1907), pp. 332–335, 351–352.
[4] *Ed. cit.*, p. 455.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 459.
[6] Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Ms., Collection Moreau, 841,* fols. 69–90.

& passan par l'archipel vins a Naples & de la en France." Athens may have been passed through on this journey, or perhaps, as we may gather from the printed text, on the third journey out. Apparently on this last journey the route was from Naples across to the Adriatic and Otranto, by sea to Corfu, then Santa Maura, Zante, Castel Tornese, Patras, Corinth, Megara, Athens, Andros, Chios, Constantinople.[7]

(*p. 473*) *De Megare iusques à Athenes,* il n'y a qu'une petite iournée, qui nous dura moins que si nous n'eussions marché que deux lieuës, il n'y a iardin, ny bois de haute fustaye qui contente davantage la veüe que fait ce chemin, l'on va par une grande plaine toute remplie d'oliviers & d'orangers, ayant la mer à main droite, & les collines à gauche, d'où il sort tant de beaux ruisseaux, qu'il semble que la nature se soit efforcée à rendre ce pays ainsi delicieux.

La ville d'*Athenes* est située sue la pante & aux environs d'un rocher, qui est assis dans une plaine, laquelle est bornée par la mer qu'elle a au Midy, & par les montagnes agreables qui l'enferment du costé du Septentrion, elle n'est pas de la moitié si grande qu'elle estoit autrefois, ainsi que l'on peut voir par des ruines, à qui le temps a fait moins de mal que la barbarie des nations qui ont tant de fois pillé & saccagé ceste ville. Les bastimens anciens qui y restent, tesmoignent assez la magnificence de ceux qui les ont faits: car le marbre n'y est point espargné, non plus que les colomnes & les pilastres. Sur le haut du rocher est le Chasteau, dont les Turcs se servent encores auiourd'huy: entre plusieurs anciens bastimens, il y a un Temple qui est aussi entier & aussi peu offencé de l'iniure du temps, comme s'il ne (*p. 474*) venoit que d'estre fait, l'ordre & la structure en est admirable, sa forme est oualle, & par dehors aussi bien que par dedans: il est soustenu par trois rangs de colomnes de marbre, garnies de leurs bases & chapiteaux, derriere chasque colomne il y a un pilastre, qui ensuit l'ordonnance & la proportion. Les *Chrestiens* du pays disent, que ce Temple est celuy-la mesme qui estoit dedié au Dieu incogneu, dans lequel *Sainct Paul* prescha, à present il sert de *Mosquée,* & les *Turcs* y vont faire leurs oraisons:[8] cette ville iouït d'un air fort doux, & les Astres les plus mal faisans se despoüillent de leurs mauvaises influences, quand ils regardent cette contree, ce que l'on peut cognoistre aysément, tant par la fertilité du pays que par les marbres & les pierres qui depuis un si long temps qu'elles sont exposées à l'air, ne sont aucunement rongées ny endommagées. L'on dort à la campagne la teste toute descouverte, sans en recevoir nulle incommodité: en fin l'air que l'on y respire est si agreable & si temperé, que l'on y recognoist beaucoup de changement lors que l'on s'en esloigne. Quant aux habitans du pays ce sont tous *Grecs,* qui sont cruellement & barbarement traittez par les *Turcs* qui y demeurent, encores qu'ils soient en petit nombre. Il y a un *Cady* qui rend la justice, un Prevost appellé *Soubachy,* & quelques *Ianissaires* que l'on y envoye de la Porte de trois mois en trois mois: tous ses Officiers firent beaucoup d'honneur au sieur des Hayes lors que nous y passames, & le (*p. 475*) defraierent aux despens du *Grand Seigneur.*

En sortant d'*Athenes* l'on traverse ceste grande plaine, qui est toute remplie d'oliviers, & arrosée de plusieurs ruisseaux, qui en augmentent la fertilité. Apres avoir marché une bonne heure, l'on arrive sur la marine, où il y a un grand port fort excellent, qui estoit

[7] *Ed. cit.,* pp. 459–476.

[8] The text of the above paragraph to this point has been published by Laborde, I, pp. 63–64, with slightly modernized spelling.

autrefois fermé par une chaisne, ceux du pays l'appellent le *Port Leon,* à cause d'un grand Lion de pierre que l'on y voit encores auiourd'huy: mais les anciens le nommoient le port de *Pirée,* c'estoit en ce lieu que les *Atheniens* assembloient leurs flottes, & qu'ils s'embarquoient ordinairement.

En costoyant les rivages du pays *Attique,* qui sont tres-agreables, l'on voit sur le haut de plusieurs montagnes les ruines de quantité de villes, qui estoient autrefois bien florissantes, ce qui donne à cognoistre que les Grecs bastissoient plus volontiers leurs villes sur des lieux eminents & relevez, que non pas dans des plaines. Nous observasmes aussi qu'ils les esloignent tousiours de la mer, afin que leurs Citoyens eussent moins de communication avec les estrangers, dont les moeurs estoient plus corrompuës. La mer qui baigne le rivage *Attique* est toute remplie d'Isles, qui sont aussi bien fertilles. A 40 milles du *port Leon* l'on sort du *Golphe* qui est entre la *Grece* & la *Morée,* & apres avoir doublé le *Cap Colomne,* l'on entre dans une mer plus spacieuse, qui est tousiours l'Archipelague. *Du Cap Colomne* à l'Isle d'*Andro,* il y a 70 milles, & cent iusques à celle de *Scio,* où l'on (*p. 476*) trouve à toute heure des commoditez pour aller à *Constantinople,* qui en est à quatre cents milles.

XV

[NICOLAS DU LOIR]

Les Voyages du Sieur du Loir

contenus en plusieurs lettres écrites du Levant, avec plusieurs particularitez qui n'ont point encor esté remarquées touchant la Grece, et la domination du Grand Seigneur, la Religion, et les moeurs de ses Sujets.

Ensemble ce qui se passa à la mort du feu Sultan Mourat dans le Serrail, les ceremonies de ses funerailles; et celles de l'avenement à l'Empire du Sultan Hibraim son frere, qui luy succeda.

Avec la relation du siege de Babylone fait en 1639, par Sultan Mourat.

. . . . . .

A Paris, Chez Gervais Clouzier au Palais, sur les degrez de la Sainte Chapelle.

M. DC. LIV. Avec Privilege du Roy.[1]

[1] The Privilège du Roy was dated May 8, 1654; the printing was finished June 18, 1654 (pp. iii and next, unnumbered, following *Préface*). The catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale notes under the above title, "Revus par F. Charpentier." François Charpentier (1620–1702), *directeur perpétuel* of the Académie Française, composed, edited and revised many works, among them the *Voyages* of Du Loir. A collection of his writings was published in 1724: *Carpentariana ou Remarques d'Histoire, de Morale, de Critique, d'Erudition, et de bons Mots de M. Charpentier de l'Académie Françoise.* A Paris. Chez Nicolas de Breton, fils, Quay des Augustans, au coin de la ruë Gist-le-Coeur, à la Fortune. M.DCC.XXIV. Avec Privilege du Roi. "Ce sont toutes Reflexions sur differens Auteurs, que M. Charpentier avoit jetées sur le papier, & que l'on a rassemblées après sa mort," the editor says in his preface and further notes that the title at the top of the pages is incorrectly printed, *Carpenteriana.* On pp. 368–369 Charpentier states:

La lecture des voïages fournit beaucoup à la conversation: le goût que j'ai toûjours eu pour ces sortes d'ouvrages, est cause, que j'ai pris plaisir à en corriger deux ou trois que j'ai donnez au Public. Le premier est une Relation d'un Voïage du Levant, par Nicolas du Loir de Paris, imprimée en 1654,

The dedication of the Sieur du Loir's book — "A Son Altesse Royalle Monseigneur le Duc D'Orleans," — in a passage toward the end reveals that he had held some position in the household of the Duke, which conditions at the time of his writing prevented him from occupying: "La mauvaise coniuncture du temps, qui suspend la fonction des services que ie luy (i.e., the Duke) dois pour la charge que i'ay l'honneur d'avoir dans sa maison," etc.[2]

In his Preface (p. 4) Du Loir dwells on his special qualifications for the journey in the matter of language:

> Pour moy, le voyage que j'ay fait n'a pas esté fort estendu, mais ie puis dire qu'il a esté fort particulier, & que i'ay esté dans les lieux les plus celebres de l'antiquité, qui ne sont plus connus que dans la Carte & dans l'Histoire & dont les habitans n'avoient iamais veu de voyageurs. Outre cet avantage i'ay en celuy des langues, dont ie parlois la Turque, comme la Françoise qui est la plus universelle du Levant, & ie me suis estudié particulierement à ne remarquer que ce qui ne l'avoit point encore esté, où qui ne l'avoit pas esté exactement.

The book is in the form of ten letters, dated from 1639 to 1641. The address and subject of each are: I. M. Hullon, prieur de Cassan. The voyage from Marseille to Constantinople. — II. M. Lantin, Conseiller au Parlement de Dijon. Constantinople and its environs. — III. M. de Boüillon, Secretaire des Finances de son Altesse Royalle. The organization of the court of the Sultan. — IV. M. du Puy, Conseiller du Roy, en ses Conseils, & Prieur de Saint Sauveur. The Triumph of the Sultan Murad, his illness and death, and the succession of his brother. — V. M. Bouliau, Prieur de Magny. The religion of the Turks. In Turkish and French. — VI. M. Le Pailleur. The customs of the Turks. — VII. M. L'Engrené, Conseiller & Medecin ordinaire de son Altesse Royalle. The Hellespont, Tenedos, Troy, and Marmora. — VIII. M. Charpentier. Turkish text and French translation of "La Conqueste de Babylone (Bagdad) par Sultan Murat Roy," by a Turkish officer. — IX. M. Hardy, Conseiller du Roy au Chastellet de Paris. Turkish letters and titles of various dignitaries, with a French translation.

Letter X, to M. l'Abbé Menage, dated "De Venise, le 13 juin 1641," describes the journey of Du Loir from Constantinople to Venice in the company of the

dont j'ai corrigé le stile, & auquel j'ai ajoûté bien des remarques. M. Sauvalle aïant appris que je revoïois cet Ouvrage, m'envoïa dans une Lettre deux inscriptions Greques, pour les y inserer.

On Charpentier see Michaud, *Biographie Universelle, s.v.*, Charpentier (by Tabaraud): Laborde, II, p. 38, note 1.

An Italian translation of the *Voyages* appeared in 1671: *Viaggio di Levante del Signor di Loir . . . aggiontovi il viaggio d'Inghilterra del Signor di Sorbiera, tradotti dall' idioma Francese in Italiano dal Secretario F. F. Venetia.* 1671.

[2] On Du Loir see Michaud, *op. cit., s.v.*, Du Loir (by Eyriés).

Venetian Ambassador, Pietro Foscarini, his two sons, Hirolamo and Zuane, and other gentlemen of his suite. They left Constantinople, March 10, 1641, and went by sea to Negroponte. Thence they crossed Greece by way of Thebes, the Isthmus, Corinth, Patras, etc., to Castel Tornese, where they took ship for Zante, Corfu, and Venice. During their stay at Negroponte Du Loir visited Athens. It is from this Letter (pp. 301–323) that the following extracts are made.

Pendant que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur se reposoit et[3] qu'on cherchoit des chevaux pour aller par terre, au bout du Peloponese à Castel-Tercese (*sic*) ou des barques Venitiennes devoient venir nous prendre pour passer au Zante, un noble Venitien nommé Antonio Boldu, homme docte et curieux, un (*p. 302*) Allemand qui avoit esté au Duc de Veymart et moy, nous fismes partie d'aller voir Athenes. Nous loüasmes des chevaux pour cet effect, et prenant leurs maistres qui estoient des Charbonniers pour guide, et un Ianissaire de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur pour nous escorter, nous passames un iour de bon matin à Aulis ou nous montasmes à cheval.

There follows a brief description of Aulis and a long account of the "Arnautes," also called Albanians, but "ie ne crois pas qu'ils viennent d'Albanie" (p. 303). The travellers were in danger of robbery by the Arnautes while crossing Mt. Parnes, and were compelled to pass the night in some Arnaut huts. The next morning they made an early start, and soon came to a large village, "qui estoit peut-estre autrefois Decelée" (p. 309).

(*p. 309*) Delà à Athenes, le chemin est tout couvert d'Oliviers, et ie ne crois pas qu'il y ait plus de trois lieuës. Ie vous avouë, quand ie m'en approché (*sic*) que ie me sentis touché de quelque sorte de respect; mais en arrivant, ie le fus de pitié ne voyant rien (*p. 310*) d'abord qui pût me faire croire que i'entrois dans cette superbe Ville, que plusieurs ruisseaux de fontaine qui couloient dans les rues, et que ie m'imaginay venir de celle que les anciens habitans du lieu appelloient autrefois ἐννεάκρουνος.

La façon des habitans me la rendroit plus mesconnoissable que ses bastimens. Encor voit on parmy les mazures dont ils font leurs maisons quelque colomne, quelque corniche et quelque ruïne qui rendent tesmoignage de sa premiere magnificence: mais de toutes les personnes qui accoururent de diverses ruës au bruit de nostre arrivée, il n'y en eut pas un qui me parut enfant d'Athenes par d'autre marque que par celle de la misere et la pauvreté, qu'on m'avoit dit estre extreme en cette Ville.

Il est vray qu'estant plus avant dans la Ville nous reconstrasmes des personnes mieux faites qui nous voyant chercher un logement nous addresserent chez l'Archevesque ou un de ses Caloyers en son absence nous receut assez bien.

A peine avions nous pris un doigt de vin que les plus honestes gens de la Ville ayant entendu qu'il estoit arrivé des estrangers, vindrent nous y trouver, et nous offrirent avec beaucoup de civilité toutes les choses dont nous avions besoin.

Entre autres un Gentil-homme nommé Benizelly sçachant qu'il y avoit un noble Venitien parmy (*p. 311*) nous, nous fit des caresses extraordinaires, par ce qu'il avoit

[3] The ampersand, regularly employed in the text, has in the following passage been expanded to *et*, and the frequent printing *à* for *a* has been corrected.

autrefois demeuré au Zante ou Monsieur Boldu se souvint d'avoir veu son frere marié. Ces Messieurs estoient de ceux qui tiennent encor le rang de nobles dans Athenes.

Leur habit est different du commun, ils portent des cheveux, mais courts, et au lieu de tulbents ou de bonnets fourez, dont se servent les Grecs par tout ailleurs, ils ont des toques comme les Pensionaires des Colleges de Paris. Leurs vestes sont courtes, et celle qui sert de manteau, est faite comme celle de Messieurs de la Chambre des Comptes.

Ce fut avec ces Messieurs que peu de temps apres estre arrivez, nous allasmes voir ce qui reste à present dans Athenes, et ce que ie tascheray de vous d'escrire (*sic*).

Nous remarquasmes premierement la situation du lieu, qui est au tour de la colline ou est basty le Chasteau sur un roc, qui du costé du Midy est de tres-difficile accez. Les Turcs sont retirez dans l'enceinte de ce Chasteau, et ils ne font pas soixantes familles entre trois ou quatre mille habitans qui peuvent estre dans Athenes. Ce Chasteau est basty fort irregulierement, et n'a pour toute façon de forteresse que de grosses murailles, qui sont si vieilles qu'on pourroit croire, que ce sont encore celles que fit faire Cymon, fils de Miltiades (*p. 312*) pour ceindre ce rocher. Ils en sont neantmoins si ialoux qu'ils n'en permettent gueres l'entrée aux habitans, et qu'ils la defendent absolument aux estrangers. Il fallut nous satisfaire de ce qui paroist dehors, et de ce qu'on nous dit.

On y void un Temple de marbre blanc, eslevé beaucoup au dessus des murs, qu'ils nous asseurerent estre celuy de Minerve. Il peut avoir six vingt pieds de long, et cinquante de large, avec une couverture platte comme une plancher de maisons.

Le long des murs. Il[4] y a de chaque costé dix-sept colomnes cannelées faites environ de quinze pieds, et sur la largeur il y en a six.

L'entrée de ce Temple est vers l'Occident, et au dessus de la porte il y a des figures en basse taille qu'on nous dit representer un combat de cavaliers: mais que nous ne pusmes pas bien discerner de loing.

On nous asseura que dans ce Temple dont les Turcs ont fait une Mosquée, se lit encore au dessus de la porte d'une petite Chapelle, l'inscription ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, qui servit de sujet à S. Paul pour Prescher devant les Areopagites.[5] Mais je doute fort que ce soit la veritable. Pausanias asseurement en auroit fait mention, et il n'est pas croyable qu'elle y puisse estre à présent, puis qu'elle ny (*sic*) estoit plus du temps d'un Autheur qui n'a rien oublié des choses remarquable.

(*p. 313*) Du costé du Midy, il y a une petite colline destachée du Chasteau ou sont les ruynes d'un bastiment qu'on voulut nous faire passer pour celles de l'Areopage: mais on ny voit aucun reste de colomnes, ny du monument d'Oedipus qui en estoit proche. Il y a une basse taille de personnages grands comme nature, qui represente un triomphe sur un fondement fait à la rustique qui peut avoir huit pieds de haut. Ce triomphe est separé par trois figures que la vieillesse du temps à tellement gastées qu'elles sont meconnoissables. On voit dans une niche qui est au dessus du triomphe une figure assise avec des lettres qu'on ne peut lire. Il y en a une autre sur un vase en pareille posture avec des caracteres Grecs effacez. Ces deux statuës sont separées d'un Pilastre ou il y a une inscription qui commence *C. Julius Caesar,* et à vous dire le vray tout ce bastiment n'est que de pieces rapportées, et la sculpture de differente maniere et fort grossiere.

Ie croirois plutost que ce fust le lieu d'exercice qu'ils appelloient γυμνάσιον Πτολε-

[4] murs il (?).

[5] For a correction of this statement by Guillet, cf. *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle, par le Sr. de la Guilletière* (Paris: 1675), p. 191.

μαῖον vers l'Occident, le Temple de Thesée se void encore, comme dit Pausanias sur une petite eminence qui en est proche, basty de la mesme façon, et de pareille matiere que celuy que ie vous ay descrit dans le Chasteau: mais un peu plus petit.

Il n'a de chaque costé sur cent pieds de longuer (*p. 314*) que quatorze colomnes, qui sont de sept pieces hautes de deux pieds, et sur quarante de largeur, il n'en a que quatre, et deux à l'entrée. Entre les chapiteaux et la corniche qui regne tout au tour, il y a une belle frise de basse taille, ou sont representez les exploits de Thesée, et particulierement le combat des Centaures et des Lapithes, et celuy des Atheniens avec les Amazones.

Sur la terre pres de ce Temple, est une grande figure de Lion fait de marbre blanc, et qui a la gueule ouverte, comme s'il eut autrefois servy à une fontaine. Pendant que nous admirions ces merveilleux ouvrages de l'architecture et de la sculpture, il vint un homme de la part du Vayvoda nous dire que nous allassions luy parler, et ie vous avouë que ie fus en quelque façon scandalisé de ce commandement.

Les Vayvodas dans l'Empire du Turc sont proprement comme les Prevosts des Mareschaux en France, et ie trouvois mauvais qu'il nous eust envoyé querir, comme si nous eussions esté suiets à sa Iurisdiction, et qu'on eut surpris quelqu'un de nous en larçin.

Ie m'en plaignis à ces Gentils-hommes Atheniens avec qui nous estions: mais ils nous conseillerent d'y aller au plutost sans resistance, et ils eurent la bonté de nous y accompagner.

Ie ne sçay pas quel dessein avoit le Vayvoda; (*p. 315*) mais quand il vit que nostre Ianissaire nous traittoit avec beaucoup de respect, il le tira à part pour sçavoir qui nous estions, et il en nous traitta en suitte avec beaucoup de civilité.

Il nous fit boire de Cahué et du Cherbet, il nous fit parfumer sous une tavayole que deux valets tenoient estenduë sur nostre teste, et il ne nous demanda rien autre chose que des nouvelles de la Porte, d'où ie crois qu'ils en ont rarement parce qu'Athenes n'est point un lieu de trafic n'y (*sic*) de passage.

Aussi-tost que nous fusmes sortis de la maison du Vayvoda, nous retournasmes vers le Temple de Thesée pour aller remarquer les Ports de Phalere, et de Pirée qui sont comblez maintenant. Les murs qui de la ville y conduisoient pouvoient bien estre appellez longs, puis qu'ils avoient trois milles. On n'en void auiourd'huy des vestiges, qu'en quelques endroits, non plus que des murs de l'enceinte de la Ville, qu'on nous dit avoir esté de six à sept milles de circuit.

Vers le Midy, on voit l'escole de Zenon assez prez du Chasteau, et au dessous de ses murs, il y a deux grandes colomnes de marbre blanc qui font l'entrée d'une grotte prise dans le roc. Ceux du païs tiennent qu'elle estoit dediée au Dieu Pan, et leur opinion n'est pas tout à fait fausse.

Pausanias remarque qu'il y en avoit une au mes(*p. 316*)me endroit dans le Temple d'Apollon et de Pan, ou l'on comptoit de son temps qu'Apollon avoit couché avec Creusa fille d'Erechteus.

Nous vismes au milieu de la Ville, un petit Temple Octogone fait de marbre, et qui est encore tout entier, dont Pausanias ne fait point mention.

Il a environ quinze pieds de diametre, et sa voute n'est que de vingtquatre tables de marbre. A chaque costé des angles par dehors, il y a une figure humaine avec des caracteres Grecs qui marquent les noms des huit vents.

On nous montra pres de ce Temple un petit bastiment de marbre blanc, fait comme un fanal avec six colomnes cannelées hautes de huit pieds, qui soustiennent un cercle espais, gros d'un pied et haut de deux et demy, autour duquel sont des bas reliefs d'une

riche sculpture qui represente des jeux marins, et une inscription Grecque si effacée qu'on ne la peut lire.

Ce cercle est couvert d'une seule pierre faite en coquille, qui se tourne aisement, et qui a un chapiteau de feüillages merveilleusement bien travaillé de la hauteur de deux pieds.

On nous a voulu faire passer ce fanal pour l'estude de Demosthene: mais i'ay grande peine à croire qu'elle ait iamais servy à cét (*sic*) usage, et ie fus fort indigné de voir qu'une pauvre femme en faisoit son poüillier.

(*p. 317*) Il y a encor pres de là une longue muraille de marbre blanc, avec huit colomnes de pareille matiere qui sont hautes de vingt quatre pieds, et une grande et tres belle porte advancée qui est soustenue de quatre colomnes. On nous dit que c'estoit la façade du Palais de Themistocle; mais à ce qu'on en peut iuger, c'est plutost un reste de ce superbe Temple de Iupiter, qu'Adrian l'Empereur avoit fait bastir si grand et si magnifique que les statuës alloient du pair avec les colosses Romains et les Rhodiens, et dans l'enceinte duquel estoit ce trou que les anciens croyoient avoir servy d'égoust aux eaus du deluge de Deucalion, ou les Atheniens iettoient tout les ans une galette faite de miel et de farine de fourment.

Ce qui me confirme encor dans cette opinion, est qu'on passe delà par une grande porte pour aller au lieu ou est un tarif en Lettres Greques, sur une table de marbre blanc que le mesme Adrian avoit fait faire pour toutes les denrées qui se vendoient dans Athenes.

Ie ne sçay si ce superbe bastiment de marbre Phrygien, dont on voit encor une partie hors la Ville estoit autrefois compris dedans. Son plan a plus de quatre-vingt toises, et de six vingt colomnes cannelées hautes de vingt-huit pieds, et faites de plusieurs pieces qui le soustenoient. Chaque costé en avoit quinze à double rang. Il en re(*p. 318*)ste encor seize avec quelques architraves dessus, et la plus grande partie des bases sont encor en la place des autres.

Pausanias ne parle point de l'usage de ce bastiment. Ils croyent dans le pays que ce fust le lieu de l'assemblée du peuple, et un Gentil-homme nous dit qu'on l'appelloit auiourd'hui διδασκάλιον.

On y entroit par une seule porte faite en arcade qui regarde l'Occident, et qui est encor en son entier, ornée de festons travaillez avec une merveilleuse delicatesse. C'est au dessus de cette porte que sont ces Vers, que Volaterran[6] dit estre dans le Chasteau vis à vis le Temple Minerve.

[6] Raphael Maffeius Volaterranus, *Commentariorum Urbanorum octo et triginta libri* (Leyden: 1552; also Basle: 1530, 1544, 1559), lib. viii, col. 266 (ed., 1552):

Munychia navale Atheniensium in Chersonnesi speciem muro vallata, Pyreum aliasque habitationes complectens, in quibus armamentarium Philonis Architecti opus, et statio navium CCCC capax. Pyreus portus et oppidum ubi templum Iovis Soteris et Minervae Poliadis cum igne perpetuo, et virginum domo. Muri Pyrei deiecti fuere primum a Lacedaemoniis, deinde a Sylla cum Pyreum per obsidionem expugnavit. . . . (*col. 268*) Atticam Amurathes Turca patrum nostrorum memoria primus invasit, praeter Athenas ipsas. Hae quoque amissae expulso duce ex Acciaiolorum genere, de quibus alibi narravi. . . .

Athenis in monte contra Palladis arcem ad Aram Tranini haec adhuc legitur inscriptio, αἱ δ'ἐισ' Αθῆναι Θήσεως πόλις, αἳ δὲσ' Αδριανοῦ καὶ οὐ Θήσεως πόλις. Legitur et Festi Rufi memoria proconsulis Graeciae, ad columnam in arce Athenarum ante Palladis templum. Τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ τῆς ἑλλάδος Ρούφῳ Φαίστῳ καὶ ἀρεοπαγείτῃ, ἡ ἐξ ἀρεοπάγου βουλὴ τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Αθηναίων εὐνοίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα, id est: Splendidiss. Procos. Graeciae Rufo Festo, et Areopagitae, Areopagi Senatus trecentorum, et populus Atheniens. benevolentiae ac beneficentiae gratia.

Lib. 8 Geogra. in fine. Αἶδ' εἶσ' Αθῆναι Θησέως πρῶτον πόλις
Αἶδ' Αδριανοῦ, κ' οὐδὲ θησέως πόλις·

Le Theatre qui estoit pour les ieux publics, n'est pas loin delà, et on y void un chemin sous terre, par ou se retiroient ceux qui avoient eu du desadvantage, afin d'eviter la honte de se representer aux assistans.

Le Lycée d'Aristote est a moitié ruïné, et il n'y a plus que deux colomnes. De l'Academie de Platon, il ne reste qu'un tas de pierre qui en marque la place, et ou sont aussi les ruïnes d'un Temple que les Atheniens croyent avoir esté dedié à Artemise, et ils ne se mesprennent pas tout à fait. Pausa(*p. 319*)nias remarque qu'il y en avoit un en ce lieu consacré à l'amour, et personne n'ignore que pour le coniugal nous n'en avons point de plus illustre exemple que cette Reine.

Il n'est pas iusques au fleuve Ilissus qui ne se ressente du dommage du temps, et de la tyrannie de l'Ottoman, les Turcs ont destourné les eaus pour arrosser leurs iardins, et on n'en void plus que le lict.

Les habitans tiennent que la montagne qui se void au Levant, environ à une lieuë de la Ville estoit autrefois revestuë de marbre, et qu'il y avoit dessus une statuë de Minerve. Et suivant leur opinion se seroit celle que Pausanias appelle Pentelicus: mais ie doute qu'il faille les croire.

Ce qu'ils nous asseurent de la qualité des plantes qu'elle produit qui ont la force de purger par le seul odorat ceux qui en approchent, témoigne ce me semble plutost que c'est le Mont Hymettus ou les abeilles faisoient du miel si delicat, et par ce qu'on en tiroit du marbre, cela leur a donné lieu de croire quelle en eust esté revestuë. Les briques que l'on void encor assez prez de ce lieu servent de témoignage à cette opinion, par ce que le mur qui regardoit cette montagne en estoit basty.

Outre toutes ces choses que ie viens de vous descrire, il reste encor dans la Ville, et aux environs beaucoup de bastimens ruïnez et de mor(*p. 320*)ceaux de figure: mais enfin, bien que ces marques de sa premiere grandeur rendent son estat present encor plus deplorable, elles ne laissent pourtant pas de donner encore de l'admiration à ceux qui les voyent.

Here follows a brief review of the favors shown Athens, because of its past glories, by Aratus (with whose kindness the cruelty of Sulla is contrasted), Julius Caesar, Brutus and Cassius, and Antony.

(*p. 321*) Enfin tous ceux qui ont iamais eu quelque estime pour la vertu, et pour les belles choses, l'ont fait paroitre envers Athenes.

Adrian l'empereur l'a monstré entre les autres par milles témoignages de son affection et de sa magnificence, et il n'est pas iusqu'à Mahomet II. ce cruel usurpateur de l'Empire de l'Orient qui apres n'avoir oublié aucun acte de cruaute imaginable à la prise de Constantinople eut du respect pour les ruïnes d'Athenes, et publia qu'il avoit beaucoup d'obligation à celuy qui l'en avoit rendu maistre.

(*p. 322*) Mais il seroit inutile de vous entretenir plus long-temps de l'illustre nom de cette Ville, vous connoissez mieux que personne, les raisons de l'estime qu'on doit avoir pour elle, et il faudroit vous citer comme le meilleur témoignage qu'on en pût donner, puis qu'elle n'a emprunté son renom que de ceux qui composoient ces celebres Academies ou vous auriez esté digne de presider.

Apres avoir veu tout ce que ie viens de vous representer nous nous retirasmes le soir, chez l'Archevesque dans le dessein d'aller voir le lendemain les Convents de filles qui sont aux environs d'Athenes. Mais apres que Monsieur Boldu et moy nous eusmes repassé dans nostre memoire les belles choses que nous avions veuës, et que nous eusmes fait reflexion sur ce que le Vayvoda nous avoit envoyé querir, cette pensée nous donna de l'ombrage, et dans la crainte qu'il ne nous fit quelque avanie sur le pretexte de nostre curiosité comme si nous fussions venus pour reconnoistre la ville, nous resolusmes de partir la mesme nuit sans prendre congé de personne.

Avec cette consideration qui n'estoit pas vaine, celle du brigandage des Arnautes estoit tres-importante. Ces gens venans le lendemain au marché pouvoient apprendre nostre retour, et il y avoit à craindre qu'ils ne nous attendissent au passage. De plus l'incertitude ou nous estions que (*p. 323*) Monsieur l'Ambassadeur ne voulut bien tost partir de Negropont nous pressoit encore d'aller le retrouver.

Si bien qu'ayant laissé sur l'estrade de nostre chambre de quoy payer nostre despense, nous menasmes en main nos chevaux à petit bruit, iusques au bas de la colline ou nous montasmes dessus pour retourner au Negropont.

Dawn found them still in sight of Athens, but their flight was not discovered, and in the evening they arrived safely at Oropus (as they supposed). Still in fear of the "Arnauts," they crossed by night to Euboea, and after further adventures were finally guided to Chalcis by an old slave-woman.

XVI

BERNARD RANDOLPH

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE MOREA,

Called Anciently Peloponnesus

Which hath been near Two Hundred Years under the Dominion of the *Turks;* and is now very much Depopulated. Together with a Description of the city of ATHENS, Islands of ZANT, STRAPHADES, and SERIGO.

Faithfully Described by BERNARD RANDOLPH, who resided in those parts from 1671 to 1679. London, 1686.[1]

[1] This treatise was printed also at Oxford, 1686, in a text differing from that of the London edition in unimportant details of spelling and capitalization. The title pages bear the same reading with the following differences of the Oxford from the London edition: *Paragraph 1.* *"Turks Dominion"* for *"Dominion of the Turks";* omit, "Together . . . SERIGO." *Paragraph 2:* "After several Years Observation from 1671 to 1679. Faithfully Described By Ber. Randolph."

Randolph wrote another treatise: *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago.* Printed at the Theater in Oxford, 1687. Imprimatur May 4, 1687 by Joh. Venn, Vice-Car. Oxon. See also Laborde, I, pp. 176, note 2, 177.

A Description *of the City of ATHENS*
(PAGES 21–24)

(*p. 21*) It is the Head City in the Province of Attica, and was once the greatest Mistress of Learning in all *Europe*. The Plain is about Sixteen Miles Long, and Five Broad, being surrounded with Mountains, all but towards the South, where it is washed by the *Egean* Sea. The Olive-trees stand so thick to the West of the City that they seem to be a Wood, reaching Six Miles in Length and Two in Breadth. Whilst I was there, a Tahrirge[2] (or Surveyor) came down from *Constantinople* to Survey the Place; he found above Fifty Thousand Olive-trees in this Plain, and other places about the City. There are several small Villages, where are very pleasant Gardens, which afford all sort of Fruit and Saleting, having walks round them covered with Vines, of which there are two sorts; the one is in the *Turkish* Language called *Barnak Uzumi*, a long White Grape; the other *Hevengh Uzumi*, a round Red Grape, both which growing in very large Bunches. Of the latter Mr. Vernon weighed one Bunch which was near Four Oaks (about Ten Pound English). These Red Grapes are not ripe till *September*, then they cut them off, and hang them up in their Houses for Winter store. Neither of these Two sorts grow in Vine-yards. The Vine-yards are planted most betwixt the City, and the Sea. The City is now not above Three Miles about: Being Four Miles from *Porto Lion* (which formerly was call[ed][3] *Pirea*) having a Castle to the South. The Houses are better built here than in any part of the *Morea*, most having little Courts, with high Walls (*p. 22*) in which are Arches with Marble Pillars; few Houses above Two Story high: they [are][4] also patcht up with the Ruines of old Palaces, and in most Walls are abundance of old Inscriptions. The Governors are in the same manner as they be in other Cities under the *Turks*. The *Greeks* live much better here than in any other part of *Turky* (*Scio* excepted) being a small Common-wealth amongst themselves. They choose eight Magistrates, who adjust all differences, and appear in all Publick Matters. Their Protector (at the Port) is the Grand Seigniors Chief Eunuch, who hath the disposing of that Government. The City is not walled about, but has Gates at the Streets end, which every Night are shut, to keep out Privateers, who often Land and do much mischief. Here is an Arch-Bishop whose House stands to the South West of the Town, near unto the Mount *Ariopagus:* He lives in great esteem amongst them. Below his Palace towards the North, stands intire the Temple of *Theseus*, which is a fair and large Building, all of White Marble, having a Portico about it with Pillars. The Temple is Seventy Three Foot long and Twenty Six in Breadth: The Length of the Portico (which goes round it) is One Hundred Twenty Three Foot: It is now a *Greek* Church, and dedicated to *St. George*. To the South East part of the Castle are Seventeen Marble Pillars, being the remainder of One Hundred and Twenty, on which the Emperor *Adrian* had his Palace: And upon some of the Pillars which stand towards the East, is to be seen part of the Foundation. These Pillars are of a pure white Marble, with blewish Waves, Schollop-work, being Fifty Foot in height, and Nineteen and a half round. The Ground is very even about them, which they say was formerly Paved with Marble. Close to these Pillars Eastward, is a square Piece of Ground, which is Walled in with a low Wall, being Green: It is (*p. 23*) kept very smooth and free of Stones; at the South End close to the Wall, is a place (raised with Two Steps) about Two Foot high, almost in Form of a Throne. In the time of their *Byram*, the Turks come to this place, where their Emam or Priest (sitting on the raised place) Preacheth to them,

[2] Oxford ed., Tahrarge. [3] *Ibid.*, called. [4] *Ibid.* ins. *are*.

shewing them the Vanity of the World, the Greatness of their Emperour, and the Valour of the *Ottoman* Forces, concluding with a Prayer for the Grand Seignior, which is answered with Three Shouts from the Auditors, with a loud Voice crying, *Amen.*

The Castle stands on a Rock, which is high and steep, having but one way up, and three Gates to pass through into the Body of it: The Walls are much out of repair. The Scituation makes it strong. This Castle stood almost in the middle of Old Athens: The Place most worth Observation in it, is the Temple of Minerva, which remains entire, being esteemed (by all who have seen it) to be one of the Most Glorious Buildings in *Europe.* It is all pure White Marble: The Length of the Body of the Temple is One Hundred Sixty Eight *English* Feet, and the Breadth Seventy One: There are Seventeen Pillars at each Side, and Eight at the Front: The Circuit of the Pillars are Nineteen Foot and a Half: The Length of the whole Temple Two Hundred and Thirty Feet. The Temple is very dark, having only some Lights to the Eastward. The *Greeks* did Consecrate, and Dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin. Since that, the *Turks* have perverted it with their Worship. The *Turks* have White-wash'd the Inside, notwithstanding it is all of pure Marble. In and about Athens are Two Hundred *Greek* Churches (most of which have been Temples) but not one quarter of them are now used. In the Plain, and on most of the Hills, there are many small Chappels. The Ruines are above Six Miles about, of which the Reader (*p. 24*) may have full satisfaction by reading the Travels of Sir *George Wheeler,* who hath given a large and true Account of this City. Some Geographers call it Settines, which name was never known to the Inhabitants; the Turks call it *Atinna,* and the *Greeks Athine.* The Air is very good. The Soyl is rich. It hath a River to the South, close by the Ruines of *Adrians* Palace, called *Illisus* or *Calleroy;* which is almost choked up, and in Summer is dry. The Harbour of *Porto Lione* is very secure from the danger of any Wind, but there is no Fortification, so that it is frequented by Pyrats. In all the Villages and Country about *Athens,* the Inhabitants are most *Albaneses;* and they are here more populous than in the *Morea.* It affords the same Commodities: and all Provision is as reasonable, but their Wines in general are not so good.

XVII

ANTOINE DES BARRES

L'ESTAT PRESENT DE L'ARCHIPEL

Première Partie. [Seconde Partie]

A Paris.

Chez Claude Barbin, au Palais sur le second Perron
de la Sainte Chapelle
1678

Second Partie, pages 193–202

Antoine des Barres, a gentleman of Champagne, was a member of the imposing suite which accompanied Nointel on his visit to Athens in 1674. Des Barres dur-

ing his stay there enjoyed the hospitality of the Consul Jean Giraud,[1] and has left the following account of his visit: —

(*p. 194*) Estant partis de cette Isle (i.e., Cyprus) le 19 (Oct.) nous eûmes beaucoup de vents contraires, qui furent cause que nous n'arrivâmes à Santorin que long-temps aprés, nous y demeurâmes trois jours, et le vent devenu favorable, nous nous embarquâmes pour Milo autre Isle de l'Archipel, et l'ordinaire sejour des vaisseaux et galliotes Corsaires, et où aprés avoir demeuré huit jours, nous nous embarquâmes pour Athenes. Le 4 Novembre estant arrivez au Port (*p. 195*) Leon, nous nous débarquâmes et couchâmes au bord de la mer, sous des Pavilons à cause qu'il estoit nuit, et que la Ville en est trop éloignée. Le jour suivant le Consul ayant amené une compagnie de soldats Turcs pour accompagner Monsieur l'Ambassadeur à l'entrée de cette ancienne Ville, nous montâmes tous à cheval, et commençant à marcher en ordre, nous rencontrâmes une autre compagnie que les puis(*p. 196*)sances Turques envoyoient au devant de Monsieur le Marquis de Nointel, en entrant il fut salüé de toute la mousqueterie Turquesque et des canons du Chasteau, aprés quoy il fut conduit en une belle maison d'un Turc: J'estois logé chez Monsieur Girault, Marchand François, qui me fit toutes les civilitez imaginables; nous y restâmes six semaines, qui se passerent comme six jours, à voir les curiositez qui restent (*p. 197*) en grande quantité en cette ville et à chasser aux liévres, le pays y estant fort propre, et les liévres tres-beaux et tres-bons: Nous vîmes l'Euripe et le Mont-Parnasse qui n'en sont pas fort éloignez, les antiquitez y sont en si grande quantité et tant d'Auteurs en ont écrit plus sçavamment que je ne pourrois faire, que je n'en diray rien icy. On attribuë le commencement de cette ville à Minerve, dont le Temple (*p. 198*) fait assez voir sa magnificence passée, par ce qui nous reste de ses ruïnes. Il est placé dans le Château, enrichy tout au tour de belles figures en relief qui representent des jeux, des festes, et des réjoüissances publiques. Thesée fut son restaurateur, son Temple est hors de la ville et sert d'Eglise aux Grecs, il est enrichy de tres-belles colomnes et d'autres figures en relief, mais il n'est pas si majestueux que le premier. Solon lui donna (*p. 199*) des Loix que plusieurs Nations, et mesme les Romains ont bien voulu suivre, on y void encore quelque chose de l'Areopage, si vanté, et qui fut institué par le mesme Solon. Un grand edifice d'Adrian aussi placé hors de la ville, et dont on ne void plus que des colomnes de plusieurs pieces, fait connoître qu'il estoit tres-beau: Enfin, outre plusieurs Escoles, Temples, Tombeaux, Arcs de triomphe, representations de jeux; on y (*p. 200*) void la lanterne de Demosthene enrichie de plusieurs figures, representant des combats de Gladiateurs; elle sert à present de dépense aux Capucins, et fait partie de leur cuisine. La ville d'Athenes est belle, grande, et tres-bien bastie des ruines de l'ancienne, elle a son Chasteau élevé sur une petite montagne au milieu de la Ville, son Port est nommé le Port Leon et en est éloigné de cinq milles, et presqu' au (*p. 201*) fonds du Golphe qui porte le nom de cette ville si fameuse. Nous nous y embarquâmes le 18 Décembre, ayant fait voile la nuit nous arrivâmes le 20 à Saint George de Schiro, Isle proche de l'Isle de Negroponte, qui n'est pas éloignée du Cap Colomne, devant lequel nous passâmes, et où nous remarquâmes encore quelques colomnes dressées, mais nous ne pûmes pas les compter tant à cause que la barque faisoit (*p. 202*) grand chemin, que parceque nous estions trop éloignez.

[1] On Des Barres see Vandal, pp. 115–116, 130, note 2; Collignon, *Giraud*, pp. 379–380; cf. Laborde, I, 113, note 1.

XVIII

FELICE GALLO

Florence, Archivio di Stato. *Archivio Mediceo 1577. Lettere al Segrio Appollonio Bassetti; Venezia e Dominio, 1687–1688. Lettere di Alessandro Guasconi,* No. 212.

The following description of Athens is contained in a letter to the Venetian banker, Alessandro Guasconi, signed by Felice Gallo, his close friend and the secretary of Morosini, and written in complaint of the extreme discomforts that he was experiencing on one of the galleys in Porto Lione where Morosini's *armata sottile* in large part remained after the siege of Athens.[1]

(*p. 1*) Porto Lion, 16 Ottr 1687 S.N.

(*p. 4*) Fui l'altr' hieri à rivedere le antiche illustri memorie di questa famosa stanza, dove ne secoli passati ressiedeva la più celebre Virtù, ed' osservai in capite nella Fortezza il Tempio dedicato à Minerva, qual era prima dell' espugnatione intatto, ma hora dalle bombe distrutto, ed' infranto, e fà compassione il spechiarsi nelle sue rovine che fan apparire Colonati, Cornisioni, statue, sculture, e bassi rillevi d'industre manifattura, mà tutto esterminato. In Città poi che resto' illesa dagl' hostili insulti, e dai danni de bellici istromenti rissorge l'altro bel Tempio di Giunone attorniato da (*p. 5*) grandissime Collonne, standovi nel mezo Greca Chiesa consecrata à S. Giorgio. La Scola di Demostene in ottangola figura, e la Lanterna fù suo studio ridotto in Chiesiola in cui sta Prete[2] Cappuccino missionario della Provincia di Francia. Un pezzo acquedotto fatto costruire da Tito Elio Imperatore. Diverse Collone et altre Vestiggie con un gran Portone del Palazzo principiato da Teseo, e finito da Adriano; E per ultimo il tanto decantato Areopago. Nel suburbio ove maggiormente s'estendeva il recinto dell'Antica Attene vi è qualch' altra fabrica dirocata e che mostra pompa d'illustre memoria.

V. S. Illma dirà che nell' appagare il genio con si degne curiosità dovrei consolarmi, e dar bando alle mestitie, et io le rispondo che tutto sofferisco volontieri eccetto la condanna di Galera. Le par che non habbi tutta la ragione. Quanto meglio saria il poter (*p. 6*) con le soavità ch'ella gusta ricreare lo spirito, e renderlo dà tante affannose angustie sollevato.[3]

[1] J. M. Paton, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII (1934), No. 1, p. 60, Notes 3, 5; *Venetians in Athens,* pp. 17, 79, note 2.

[2] Padre?

[3] The letter is dated also at the end (*p. 9*): "Di Galera Porto Lion li 16 Ottr 1687 S.N."

XIX

GIOVANNI-BATTISTA DE BURGO

Viaggio
di cinque anni
in Asia, Africa, & Europa
di D. Gio. Battista
de Burgo
Abbate Clarense, e Vicario Apostolico nel Regno sempre
Cattolico d'Irlanda. Parte terza.
In Milano nelle Stampe dell' Agnelli.
Con licenza de' Superiori.[1]

Parte terza of this work in three volumes contains an account of the travels of the author, Giovanni-Battista de (*sic*) Burgo, to Trebizond and in Muscovia, his return to Constantinople, Moldavia, Belgrade and finally via Bude to Vienna. He gives the story of the Venetian campagnes of 1686 (pp. 428–473), 1687 (pp. 540–549), and 1688 (pp. 549–556), and in that of 1687 includes the Venetian successes at Athens.

(*p. 545*) L'Impresa d'Atene fù quella, che fù deliberata, che si dovesse successivamente intraprendere. Questa Città è discosta un miglio, e mezzo dal Mare: hà un Porto, che si chiama Draco, il quale è capace di 5. ò 6. Galere. La Città contiene da 400. case in circa. Il Tempio di Diana quivi si trova, e l'hò veduto di fuori, essendo stato più di 20 volte in quella Città, all'hora ch'io ero schiavo de' Tripolini d'Affrica, e portavamo della Mercantia d'Europa, rubbati alli Vascelli Christiani, ed al ritorno ci caricavano di biscotto, formento, pane, &c. Il castello è dalla parte de Macedonia; nè hò veduto altro di essa, che (*p. 546*) la sola punta. Mi disse però il Console d'Inghilterra, ch'era situato, come il Castello d'Anversa, da 4. in 500. passi della Città: e che questa è discosta solo 15. miglia della punta dell'Isola di Negroponte, & in mezzo ad ambedue si trova la Città di Tebe, ma assai rovinata. Il Porto d'Atene, chiamato come già dissi, Porto Dravo (*sic*) è alla riva del Golfo di Lepanto; altri lo chiamano Porto Leone. E distante da Dubidi,[2] bellissimo Porto, 4. miglia. Questa Città d'Atene è la Capitale della ricchissima, & abbondantissima Provincia di Achaea: era al mio tempo, cioè l'anno 1680, governata da un Bassà, che teneva sotto la sua giurisdittione 600. Terre, benhabitate, come mi disse il mentovato Console d'Inghilterra. Vi era ancora in essa un Console di Francia, & un altro di Venetia, e tutti caricavano molti Vascelli di Mercantia di quel Paese, per le case loro ogn'anno. Ma ritornando al nostro proposito. Stretto che fù di valido assedio quel Castello, benchè attaccato di due Batterie con 4. Mortari, bravamente si difese per 9.

[1] No date is given, but the contents show evidence that the book was published after 1688, probably in 1689.

[2] Perhaps *Debidi*. The type for the second letter is not clear.

giorni.[3] Si trovavano in esso 3500. huomini, trà li quali si contavano mille Giannizzari, e 200. Spay. Questi finalmente non potendo più sostenere gli urti de gli Assedianti, esposero Bandiera bianca, e si conchiusero le Capitolationi d'uscire senz' armi, ma cadauno col proprio fagotto. Alcuni però in numero di 350. si fecero Christiani, e restarono nella Città, per restare in possesso de' loro Beni. Il Saraschier però, che veniva per portar loro il soccorso con 8000. trà Gian(*p. 547*)nizzari e Spay, fù incontratto colla Cavalleria, e Dragoni dal Gen. Chinigmarch; Ma veduto appena che l'hebbe il Seraschiero, si diede ad una veloce fuga. Così il Presidio del Castello fù imbarcato per Smirne[4] in sei grandi Vascelli; e fù presidiato benissimo da' Venetiani. Colla presa di questa Città la Republica Veneta guadagnò tutto il Ducato d'Atene, insieme colla Provincia d'Achaia.

La Città di Megara,[5] fatta a guisa di Palanca, che resta situata verso la gran Città di Tessalonica, dubitando di dover soccombere al rigore dell' Armi Venete, fù abbandonata dagli habitatori; e pero, per non havere alcuna Fortificatione formale, fù prima saccheggiata, e poi dedicata alle fiamme.

XX

RELATIONE MARCIANA

Relatione dell' operato dall' armi Venete doppo la sua partenza da Corinto, e della presa d'Attene. Relatione della città d'Attene.

Biblioteca Marciana. *Cod. Ital., Cl. VII, cod. 656,* fols. 102–106.
S. P. Lambros, Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρίας, V, 1896–1900, pp. 222–227

This manuscript, acquired by the Marciana in 1826, contains miscellaneous letters and papers relating to events in the war with the Turks, 1671–1694. The *Relatione,*[1] as the title indicates, consists of two parts, which however evidently formed a single work. It has been published in full by Lambros; extracts from the first part and from the second the sentences relating to the Parthenon were published by Laborde,[2] who first called attention to the account as that of an officer present at the siege of Athens. The second part is republished below from the manuscript, the abbreviations usually being expanded but not noted. It occupies three lines more than three pages; the first thirty-five lines treat of Athens, the rest of Corinth. As Lambros remarks[3] it has a distinct archaeological interest.

[3] It would seem that the author reckoned his nine days from September 24, the date of the first bombing, or September 25, when the batteries came into full action, to October 3, when according to one version, the Turks embarked from Athens. Cf., Paton, *Venetians in Athens,* pp. 12, 69, note 8, 72, note 15, on the dates and on the numbers in the garrison.

[4] On the fate of these refugees, cf. *ibid.,* p. 72, note 15.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 76, note 24.

[1] Cf. Paton, *Venetians in Athens,* p. xii; Chapter II, notes 6, 8, 10, 17.

[2] II, pp. 145–146, note.

[3] P. 220.

RELATIONE DI ATENE

(*fol. 104v*) Atene fù scola celebre per l'antichità, e per li huomeni insigni usciti di quella. Giace nel Atica in 37 gradi di elevatione. Hoggidi da Barbari si dimanda Setines. Fu fabricata da Cecrope, onde Poeticamente Cecropi s'intendono gl'Ateniesi. Diede materia à Xerse d'unire l'elesponto con navi, e transportare dall' Asia in Europa un mezzo mondo. Per far passar suoi Vacelli dalla Macedonia nel mar Egeo fecce tagliare il monte Athos, finalmente doppo la giornata di Termopile con Leonida, Rè di Sparta pervenne in Atene, e la diede alle fiame. Qui su le rive del mare si vede un Leone marmorino transportato in honore del sud° Leonida. Si vede pure altra Leonessa in piedi senza lingua fatta dagl' Ateniesi in memoria d'una meretrice detta Leone, che essendo familiare Arodio,[4] et Aristogitene era consapevole della congiura contro Tiranni, e discoperta, benche da quelli fosse tormentata mai rivelò il secretto. Si vegono nel Borgo le reliquie del tempio di Teseo scolpitevile di lui imprese. Fuori del borgo si vede intato il Portico, overo Giminasio di Socrate. Si vedono le reliquie dell' accademia di Platone, che nacque qui, nel giorno istesso, che Appollo nacque in Delfo. Esistono anco le relique del Palazzo d'Adriano cosi magnifico, bastando il dire, ch'era fabricato sopra 300 Colonne di marmo con suoi sottoportici. In fortezza si vede il tempio dedicato à Palade protetrice, ma quello, che restò illeso dall' ira, e furore di Xerse è rimasto rovinato dalle bombe getatevi in questo assedio, non essendo restato in piedi, che una picola parte della facciata. Fortezza, che con pocco travaglio si può render inespugnabile. Nel borgo vi sarano $\frac{m}{4^r}$, e più Case vedendosi anco in questo affatto rovinate le reliquie dell'Antichità Fù Patria (*fol. 105r*) a tanti huomeni Illustri si nell' armi come nelle lettere. In armi fiorirono Milciade, che ne campi di Maratona non distante d'Atene, che dieci miglia con undeci milla Ateniesi sconfisse trecento milla Persiani al tempio (*sic*) di Dario figliolo d'Idaspe. A lui sucesse Timone, Temistocle, et altri. In lettere Socrate, Aristene, Platone, Demostene, et altri innumerabili. Qui Aristotile insegnò doppo la partenza d'Alessandro alla conquista dell' Asia, di dove esiliato per calunie terminò i suoi giorni carico d'anni nell'Isola d'Euboa, hoggi Negroponte. Legansi gl'Istorici, che tratano di questi Paesi, e saprano tutte le notitie che desiderano.

XXI

PAUL LUCAS

Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas fait par ordre du Roy dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure, la Macedoine, et l'Afrique. A Paris, Chez Nicolas Simart. 1712. Avec approbation et privilège du Roy (2 vols. 12°)

Paul Lucas, born at Rouen in 1664, the son of a goldsmith, made several journeys to the Levant,[1] trading in precious stones. On the second of his principal voyages,

[4] *Ms.*, either *Ar* or *An*, probably the former for *Harmodius*.

[1] H. Omont, *Missions arch. françaises en Orient aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris: 1902), p. 317. After having served in the Venetian forces at the siege of Negroponte in 1688, Lucas on his return to France in 1696 brought back with him a collection of precious stones and medals afterward acquired by the Cabinet and the Bibliothèque du Roy. Cf. *Voyage*, I, pp. ii, iii (*Epître au Roy*).

and the first of which the account has been published,[2] he visited Athens as "antiquaire du Roy."[3] He started from Paris on October 15, 1704,[4] arrived in Constantinople February 18, 1705,[5] and left there on May 12, 1706,[6] for his journey to Turkey and Greece. He was in Athens from July 27 to August 9, 1706, and stayed with the French consul, Balthazar Goujon,[7] who on August 30 wrote to the Comte de Pontchartrain a brief account of the visit:[8]

Vous apprendrez, Monseigneur, comme Mr Paul Lucas, antiquaire du Roy, a demeuré 15 jours chés moy. Je lui ai fait toutes les honnêtetés qui me sont esté possible et lui avoir rendu tous les services qu'il dépendra de moy, luy ayant fait voir les antiquités, tant de la ville que du Chasteau, sçavoir: le palais de Thémistocle, la sépulture de Socrate, le palais de l'empereur Adrian, le temple de Thésée et selluy de Minerve, et autres antiquités. Quand au reste n'estoit plus la saison pour les inscriptions. M. Spon n'a oublié aucune, comme nous avons veu par son livre, qui est entre les mains des Pères Capucins; fait 15 jours, qui est parti très satisfait pour la continuation de son voyage, de Smirne par terre jusqu'au grand Caire, et de là ensuite m'a dit qui passera jusqu' Alger pour s'embarquer pour France.

Lucas supplements this letter in one written from Smyrna, October 8, 1706:[9]

De Négrepont, j'ay passé à Athènes, où j'ay été malade pendant douze jours d'une fièvre de fatigue. Je n'y ay peu trouver aucune monument, ni inscription, qui ne soit dans M. Spon. Les Vénitiens y ont sept à huit personnes pour y ramasser toutes les médailles qui s'y trouvent, aussy je n'y en ay trouvé que fort peu. Je suis revenu à Négrepont, où j'ay pris un bateau pour passer à Andros.

Lucas had left Negroponte on July 26 and had travelled to Athens by night to avoid the heat.[10]

(*P. 284*) Les dehors de cette fameuse Ville, & les démolitions que l'on voit d'une distance considerable, sont des preuves qu'elle a été autrefois une des plus puissantes Villes du monde. Au devant & du côté que nous y entrâmes, est une forêt de beaux Oliviers qui en font comme l'avenuë, & remplissent une des plus belles plaines. Je fus loger chez M. Guion Consul de France; il me reçût avec toute l'amitié possible; & je demeurai chez lui pendant tout mon sejour. Athenes est située sur la pente d'un côteau & aux environs d'un rocher qui s'éleve dans la plaine dont j'ai parlé. Elle a la Mer du côté du midi: au nord, elle est en quelque façon couverte de montagnes; mais de montagnes, qui avec leur hauteur, ne presentent rien que d'agreable.

[2] He had previously made a short trip to the Orient. Omont, pp. 317, 318, note 1. Cf. *Voyage*, I, p. iiii (*Préface*): "Ce second Voïage de M. Paul Lucas aïant été plus long" etc.

[3] Omont, pp. 330, 333, 335.

[4] *Voyage*, I, p. 1; Omont, p. 333.

[5] *Voyage*, I, p. 16; Omont, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Voyage*, I, p. 228; Omont, p. 335.

[7] Auguste Boppe, "Le Consulat Général de Morée et ses dépendances," *R. ét. gr.*, XX, 1907, p. 20.

[8] Omont, pp. 335, 336 (from Archives des Affaires étrangères, Consulats, Athènes).

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 336.

[10] *Voyage*, I, pp. 283–284.

Ses ruines comme on le peut juger, font sa partie la plus remarquable. En effet quoique les maisons y soient en grand nombre, & que l'air y soit (*p. 285*) admirable, il n'y a presque point d'habitans. Il y a même une commodité, que l'on ne trouve pas ailleurs; y demeure qui veut, & les maisons s'y donnent sans que l'on en païe aucun loïer. Au reste si cette Ville celebre est de toutes les anciennes celle qui a consacré les plus de monumens à la posterité, on peut dire que la bonté de son climat en a aussi conservé plus qu'en aucun autre endroit du monde; au moins de ceux que j'ai vûs. Il semble qu'ailleurs on se soit fait un plaisir de tout renverser; et la guerre a causé presque par tout des ravages, qui en ruinant les peuples, ont defiguré tout ce qu'ils avoient de beau. Athenes seule, soit par le hazard, soit par le respect que l'on devoit naturellement avoir pour une Ville qui avoit été le siege des sciences, & à laquelle tout le monde avoit obligation: Athenes, dis-je, a été seule épargnée dans cette destruction universelle. On y rencontre par tout des Marbres d'une beauté & d'une grandeur surprenante; ils y ont été prodiguez; & l'on trouve à chaque pas des colonnes de Granite & de Jaspe.

Son Château est sur le rocher: il n'est habité que par des Turcs. Les Juifs (*p. 286*) n'y ont pas plus de quinze ou vingt maisons. Celles des Mohometans ne montent pas à plus de trois cens, & en general les Atheniens d'a present sont presque tous Chrêtiens. Cette Ville a été & est encore très bien fournie de puits & de fontaines; les eaux de celles-ci sont même la plûpart fort salutaires. Il paroit par ce que je viens de dire, que l'air d'Athenes est des meilleurs; cependant comme les corps ne s'accommodent pas tout des mêmes choses, il y a apparence que cette Ville étoit pour le mien un lieu peu sain; car pendant quatorze jours que j'y demeurai, je fus toûjours indisposé; et à peine en étois-je sorti le 9. d'Aoust que je sentis mes forces revenir d'une maniere surprenante.

On August 10 Lucas returned to Negroponte and hired a small boat to take him to Andros.[11]

[11] *Ibid.*, I, p. 286.

CHAPTER III

The Tomb of Edward Wyche at Herakleia

WHEN Dr. John Covel, chaplain of the British Embassy at Constantinople, visited the cathedral at Eregli (Perinthos-Herakleia) in May, 1675, he entered in his diary the following description of the tomb of Edward Wyche:

Below, in the cloyster, just at the foot of the staires going up to the Metropolite's apartment, lyes buryed Mr. Edward Wych, brother of Sr. Peter, who was Embassadore here. He went with our chief Dragoman (yet living) to Scio to meet Sr. Peter's Lady, then coming out of England to her husband; and coming back, he touched at Tenedos, where the plague was very rife, and he got it and dyed, and was brought here and buryed, 1628.[1]

The tomb is also briefly mentioned by two other contemporary travelers, George Wheler[2] and G-J. Grelot.[3] From these three notices it is possible to determine its original place with considerable precision, although the cathedral, long since abandoned, is now a ruin, and the tomb, if it still survives, is hidden by debris. There can, however, be little doubt that it lay just outside the entrance to the right transept, where not many years ago were the remains of an exedra and of a series of vaulted passages and small rooms, which may well have formed part of the dwelling of the Metropolitan.[4]

[1] J. T. Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (Hakluyt Society, No. 87. London: 1893), p. 277.

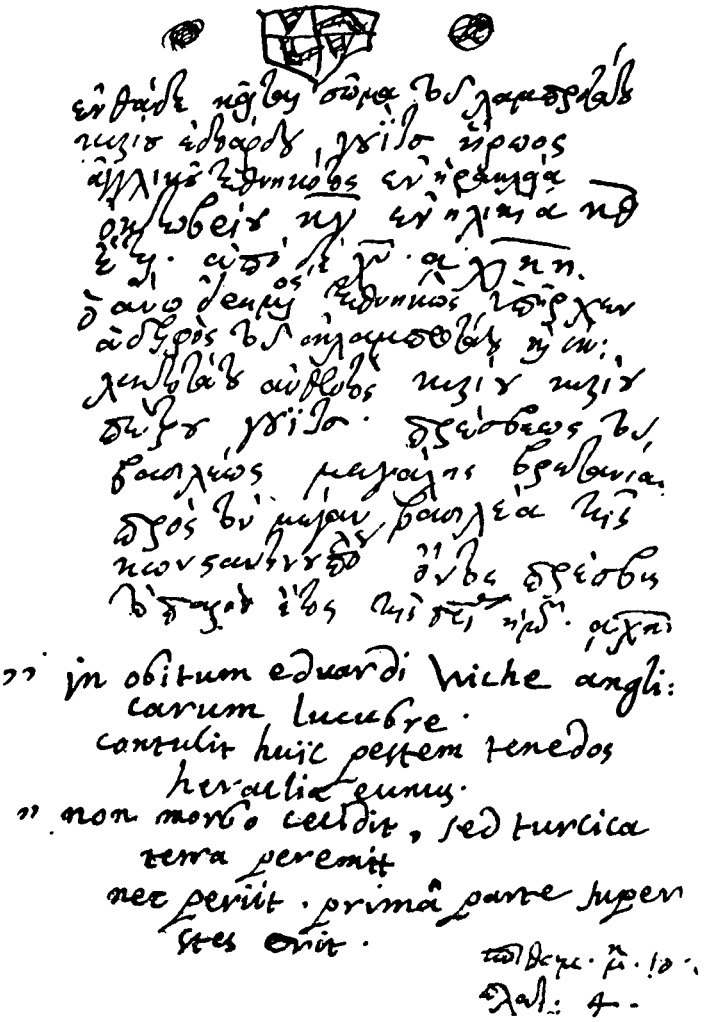
[2] George Wheler, *A Journey into Greece* (London: 1682), p. 80: "In the Cathedral church is a little Chappel, at the Right-hand is the tomb of one of our Countrymen, that died here. . . . Sir Edward Guitts, written in Greek characters thus ΓΟΥΙΤΣ." Spon and Wheler were in Herakleia on September 21, 1675. Spon does not mention the tomb.

[3] G-J. Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris: 1680), p. 55:

La maison de ce Metropole est contiguë à l'Eglise, où il va mesme à couvert. Dans le passage qui est entre deux et qui sert de vestibule à la dite Eglise, il y a la sepulture d'un Gentilhomme Anglois, qui s'en allant à Constantinople tomba malade de peste à l'Isle de Tenedos, et mourut avant mesme que d'estre arrivé à Heraclée, où il fut enterré en l'année 1627 (*sic*) comme le marque l'Epitaphe Grecque et Latine que l'on a écrit sur sa tombe qui est à l'abry et tout à l'entrée de l'Eglise.

Grelot gives no date for his visit, but Covel knew him in Constantinople and he probably visited Herakleia not far from 1675. He was back in France in 1677.

[4] On the condition of the church see Kalinka and Strzygowski, "Die Cathedrale von Heracleia," *Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archaeologischen Instituts*, I, 1898, Beiblatt, cols. 3–28, figs. 1, 2: "An die Kirche schliesst sich in südwestlicher Richtung ein ausgedehntes System von Tonnen- und Kreuz-gewölben an, die, in zwei Stockwerken ausgeordnet, meist kleinere Räumen bilden, wahrscheinlich Wohn- und Nutzräumen für die Geistlichkeit der Metropole" (Kalinka, col. 4). "Der Durchgang [in dem rechten Querarm] führt zu einer Flucht von Räumen an der sich nach der Kirche zu eine Exedra anlehnt" (Strzygowski, col. 19). Strzygowski visited the church in 1889, Kalinka in 1896.



FUNERARY INSCRIPTION OF EDWARD WYCHE
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. *Fonds grec 1631 A.*, fol. 246v

Although none of these travelers took the trouble to copy the inscription, — Covel indeed ignores its existence, — their omission was made good by another visitor, whose copy is preserved in Paris in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Fonds grec, 1631A*, fol. 246v), which also contains (fol. 158v) the anonymous account of the antiquities of Athens περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, written by the same hand:[5]

[5] On the manuscript see J. Psichari, "Le fragment sur l'Acropole de la Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds grec, 1631A*," *R. Arch.*, Série 4,X,1907², pp. 98–102. It is a miscellany consisting of twelve

FUNERARY INSCRIPTION OF EDWARD WYCHE
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. *Fonds grec 1631 A.*, fol. 246v

ἐνθάδε κεῖται σῶμα τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
κυρίου ἐδοάρδου γουῖτσ ἥρωος
ἀγγλικοῦ τεθνηκότος ἐν ἡρακλείᾳ
ὀκτωβρίου κ̄ζ̄ ἐν ἡλικία κ̄θ̄
ἔτει· ἀπὸ δὲ χριστοῦ ᾳ̅χ̅κ̅η̅
ὃ ἀνὼ εἰρημένος τεθνηκὼς ὑπῆρχεν
ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἐκλαμπροτάτου καὶ ἐκ-
λεκτοτάτου αὐθεντὸς κυρίου κυρίου
πέτρου γουϊτσ · πρέσβεως τοῦ
βασιλέως μεγάλης βρετανίας
πρὸς τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα τῆς
κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὄντος πρέσβις
τὸ παρὸν ἔτος τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν[6] ᾳ̅χ̅κ̅η̅
"in obitum eduardi Wiche angli
carum lugubre[7]
contulit huïc pestem tenedos
heraclia funus[8]
"non morbo cecidit, sed turcica
terra peremit
nec periit, primâ parte super-
stes erit.

η
ἐπιθεμ. μ. 10
πλατ: 4.

selections, usually short, including copies of a few other epitaphs (fols. 246v–247r). By far the most important member is περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς (fol. 158v). Psichari shows from a chronological table (fols. 2–10) in the same hand as the above and as the epitaph, that a large part of the manuscript was written in, or shortly after, 1670. He also points out that the writing of the epitaph, in comparison with that of the two other items by the same scribe, is "un peu plus négligée et comme abandonnée." The Greek text of the epitaph was published by Th. N. Philadelpheus, Ἱστορία τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας (Athens: 1902), I, p. 192. The Latin verses have, so far as I know, remained unpublished.

[6] A familiar phrase in the Greek liturgy.

[7] *Ms.*, lucubre. The Latin copy has certainly preserved the mistakes of the Greek stone-cutter (rather, I suspect, than of the copyist). In *lucubre* he turned the English *G* into a late Greek *C*, and *F* in *funus* was an unknown letter which he transformed into *E*. Unfortunately the copyist was not a good enough Latinist to recognize these errors.

With this line cf. *Lycidas* (which Milton wrote in 1637), line 6: "sad occasion dear," and also the title page to the Greek and Latin poems in the first of the two collections forming the memorial volume to Edward King (Cambridge: 1638), in the second of which *Lycidas* first appeared; "Justa Eduardo King naufrago ab amicis moerentibus, amoris et μνείας χάριν" (*The Poetical Works of John Milton*, ed. D. Masson [London: 1910], I, p. 53). For the force of the line cf. the comments on the Greek translation of *Lycidas* by Plumptre (1797), λυπρὸν χρῆμ' ἀλλὰ ποθεινόν ("an occasion sad in itself but concerned about a dear friend") in *The* Lycidas *and* Epitaphium Demonis *of Milton*, ed. C. S. Jerram (London: 1874), p. 48.

[8] *Ms.*, eunus. See above, note 7.

At the head of the inscription is a rude drawing of a shield bearing a coat of arms, flanked by two rosettes. Although roughly and not very accurately copied,[9] these arms are clearly those confirmed in 1587 to Thomas Wyche of Devenham, in Cheshire, by William Flower, Norroy King of Arms, and thus described in the Visitation of Cheshire in 1613:[10] "Quarterly; 1 and 4 Azure, a pile Ermine (Wyche); 2 and 3, Argent, on a Chevron Gules 3 trefoils slipped of the field (Brett)." The same arms, but with the quarterings reversed (Brett in 1 and 4; Wyche in 2 and 3) were on one of the six banners displayed over the tomb of Sir Peter and Lady Wyche in the Cathedral at Oxford.[11] With the original quarterings they were also borne by Sir Peter's great-grandson, Sir Cyril Wyche, created a baronet in 1729 by George II. At his death, without heirs, in 1756, the baronetcy became extinct.[12]

The brothers were sons of Richard Wyche of London (1554–1621), merchant and member of the Skinners' Company, and of his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Saltingstall, Lord Mayor of London in 1598.[13] A member of both the East India and the Levant (or Turkey) Companies, he must have had very considerable interests in foreign lands, for we find his sons[14] not only in Constantinople,[15] but also in Spain,[16] the East Indies[17] and Russia.[18]

[9] The chevron in the third quarter is inverted.

[10] *Publications of the Harleian Society,* No. 59, 1909, and also *Record Society for the Publication of Oriental Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire,* 1909, p. 270. (These two volumes are identical except in the title page.) Thomas Wyche of Davenham, later of Soss Moss Hall, Alderly, the great-grandson of William Wyche of Davenham, who married Margery, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Brett of Davenham, seems to have been the original grantee of these arms.

[11] Andrew Clark, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary of Oxford,* I, p. 378, note 8 (*Oxford Historical Society Publications,* No. 19. Oxford: 1891).

[12] *The Baronetage of England,* printed for Thomas Wotton (London: 1741), III, part 2, No. 453 (Wyche), p. 224 (second edition by E. Kimber and R. Johnson, London: 1771, III, pp. 87–93; Arms, I, pl. 34), cited below as Wotton, *op. cit.,* from the ed. of 1741; J. B. Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies* (London: 1858), p. 587; and G. Ormerod, *The History of the county palatine and city of Chester,* ed. Thomas Helsby (2d ed., London: 1882; issued also as "small paper edition" with title, *History of Cheshire.* London: 1882), III, p. 568, all allow Wyche only "Azure, a pile Ermine," and the latter says that these arms were given in 1663–1664.

[13] On the Wyche family, see Sir Richard Carnac Temple, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, 1608–1667* (Hakluyt Society, Series II, No. 17, Cambridge: 1907), I, *Europe,* App. B, pp. 154–165; Wotton, *op. cit.,* IV, No. 453, p. 222; R. Brooks, "On the Ancient Family of Wyche," *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Proceedings and Papers* (Liverpool: 1849), I (1848–1849), pp. 12–17; *William and Mary College Quarterly,* XIII, 1904, pp. 256–259 (based on the preceding article).

[14] He had twelve sons and six daughters, of whom eight sons and two daughters survived him. Mundy, I, p. 159.

[15] In addition to Edward and Peter, James, the seventh son, accompanied by Mundy as clerk, went to Constantinople as a merchant in 1617, and died there of small-pox in the following year. Mundy, I, Introd., pp. xxiii–xxv, 23, 160.

[16] Mundy went to Spain in 1621 and 1625 for Richard Wyche, the eldest son. On the second

We first hear of Edward, the eighth son, at Constantinople in 1620, when he was one of seven English merchants who escorted Sir Paul Pindar, the English ambassador, for two days on his departure from Constantinople for England by land.[19] How long he had been in Constantinople we do not know, but it is natural to see the cause of his arrival in the death there of his elder brother, James, in 1618. He seems to have been back in England in 1625, for in that year he was admitted to the freedom of both the East India and the Levant Companies,[20] apparently in place of his eldest brother, Richard, who had just died. I find no record of the date of his return to Constantinople, and indeed the date and circumstances of his death are known only from Covel's diary and the inscription on his grave. Neither the English nor the Venetian despatches, so far as they have been published in the *Calendar of State Papers,* contain any reference to Edward, although Venier, the Venetian ambassador (*Bailo*) at Constantinople, reported the arrival on September 30, 1628, of a large ship from England with the wife of the ambassador.[21]

Peter, the sixth son, was by far the most prominent of the family. As a young man he was in business in Spain, where the family was later in much trouble because of copper contracts, and where London gossip asserted that Peter himself had twice become bankrupt.[22] Be that as it may, it does not seem to have injured either his reputation in Spain or his favor at the English Court, for in May, 1625, he received from Charles I instructions as "our Agent resident with our dear Brother the King of Spain" to deliver a letter announcing the death of James I, and to promote "peace and commerce" during his residence.[23]

He evidently proved *persona gratissima* in Spain,[24] and must also have satisfied Charles, for after his return to England in April, 1626, he was named as successor to Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador at Constantinople,[25] and on Decem-

visit he found George, the third son, in prison at Vittoria on account of a dispute over a copper contract into which Richard had entered. Mundy, I, Introd., pp. l–li, 161–163.

[17] Nathaniel, the youngest son, was in India from 1627 to 1636, and also was President of Surat in 1658 (Mundy, II, p. 265, note 2). Mundy (I, p. 156, note 7) says that he "knew nine brethren in forraigne and farre distant regions," but in Vol. V, p. 117, he gives only eight names.

[18] Thomas, the second son, was deputy for the Company's agent at Archangel in 1641 (Mundy, IV, p. 151) and seems to have been in Russia as early as 1620.

[19] Mundy, I, pp. 45, 164. [20] Mundy, I, p. 164.

[21] *Calendar of State Papers* (hereafter cited as S.P.), *Venetian,* 21 (1628–1629), p. 322. The same ambassador in letters of August 5 and October 14, written from Ortacchivi on the Black Sea, speaks of the prevalence of the plague at Constantinople, which had led to the withdrawal of Sir Peter from the city to a villa and apparently to his own removal from the usual residence in Pera.

[22] S.P., *Venetian,* 20 (1626–1628), p. 75, letter of January 1, 1826/27.

[23] Mundy, I, p. 163. S.P., *Venetian,* 19 (1625–1626), p. 28, May 2, 1625.

[24] S.P., *Venetian,* 19, p. 254, December 19, 1625.

[25] S.P., *Domestic,* Charles I, 1 (1625–1626), p. 475, November 15, 1626; *Venetian,* 20 (1626–1628), p. 35, November 27, 1626. *Ibid.,* January 1, 1626/7, p. 75. Alvise Contarini, the Venetian

ber 16, 1626, was knighted at Whitehall.[26] The appointment, however, was not easily obtained, for the Governors of the Company resolutely denied the right of the King to designate the ambassador, who was paid by them, while they freely conceded that the royal approval was necessary to validate their choice.[27] So, although it was known in November, 1626, that Wyche had been selected, and the Company was formally notified on January 30, 1627, that the King had appointed him,[28] it was summer before the Governors yielded,[29] and not until November 18 did Sir Peter receive the Royal Instructions, and finally sail for Constantinople, where he arrived on April 10, 1628.[30] In May Lady Wyche, who had remained in England, sailed on the *Elizabeth and Margaret,* accompanied by four other ships of the Company,[31] and after a month's delay at Leghorn finally reached Constantinople, as we have seen, on September 30, a full month before the death of Edward at Herakleia.[32]

After five years of service Sir Peter asked for his recall, and on November 10, 1633, the King notified the Company that he had granted this request and had appointed Sir Sackville Crowe as his successor.[33] Although the Company no

ambassador, writes that Wyche was believed to have paid £1000 for the post, part of which went to the Duke of Buckingham's mother and to a kinswoman of the Duke; in a letter of January 8 he adds that Wyche was in straitened circumstances and had been helped by Spain to purchase his appointment.

[26] W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of Britain* (London: 1906), I, p. 191.

[27] A. C. Wood, *The History of the Levant Company* (Oxford: 1935), p. 88. S.P., *ibid.* (Nov. 27, 1626), p. 35, Contarini writes of Wyche as "a man pleasing to the merchants for his good character, though on the other hand they regret that the privilege of his nomination should thus be usurped by the king."

[28] S.P., *Domestic,* Charles I, 2 (1627–1628), p. 35, January 30: Secretary Conway notifies the Turkey Merchants (the Levant Company) that "the King has appointed Sir Peter Wyche to be Ambassador at Constantinople and will hasten his despatch thither."

[29] The matter was still unsettled in July, for on July 16, 1627, Oliver, Viscount Grandison, wrote to his uncle, Sir Thomas Roe, the Ambassador at Constantinople: "Such free expedition is not given to Sir Peter Wyche as were fit." It may be Easter before he arrives (S.P., *ibid.,* p. 255). The Venetian ambassador, Contarini, had been much concerned over the appointment of Wyche, whom he suspected of Spanish sympathies and who, therefore, might prove disposed to favor Spanish interests in opposition to Venetian at the Porte. He says that he was careful not to attack Wyche's opinions, but his conversations with Conway took every opportunity to dwell on the importance of the post, and to praise the good services of Sir Thomas Roe, "being more than ever confirmed about the pernicious opinions of the person named and his dependance on the Spaniards" (*Venetian,* 20, 1626–28, Letter of January 15, 1626/7, p. 92). See also *ibid.,* especially the letters of January 1, 8, 15, 22, February 26, March 5, 1626–27.

[30] A. C. Wood, *op. cit.,* p. 250. S.P., *Venetian,* 20, pp. 448, November 2, 1627; 576, January 30, 1627/8; 21 (1628–29), p. 54, April 15, 1628, Venier writes from Pera, "Five days ago the new ambassador of Great Britain arrived with two most powerful ships."

[31] S.P., *Domestic,* Charles I, 3 (1628–1629), p. 144. On April 16, 1627, Sir Peter had married Jane, daughter of Sir William Meredith. His son Peter was born in London in 1628.

[32] S.P., *Venetian,* 21 (1628–1629), pp. 181, note, July 22, 1628; 229, August 19, 1628; 322, September 30, 1628.

[33] S.P., *Domestic,* Charles I, 6 (1633–1634), p. 291, November 19, 1633.

longer questioned the right of the King to appoint, a prolonged dispute over the division of the "foreign consulage" followed, and it was not until October, 1638, that Crowe reached Constantinople, and only in May, 1639, did Sir Peter leave for London.[34] He had spent eleven years in Turkey, a longer term than any of his predecessors and indeed exceeded in the seventeenth century only by the fourteen years (1647–1661) of Sir Thomas Bendysh.[35]

His long absence had not seriously affected Sir Peter's position at Court, for by March, 1640, it was said that he had offered £6000 for the place of Comptroller of the King's Household, which had been intended for Sir Thomas Roe, Wyche's predecessor in Turkey.[36] The appointment, however, was not actually made until the following year, when he is mentioned as the only new officer at Court, and as having paid well for his place.[37] Soon after he was sworn of the Privy Council, of which at that time the Comptroller of the Household was regularly a member.[38] He was naturally one of the signers of the Royal Declaration of June 15, 1642,[39] and when on January 20, in the following year, twelve Oxford Colleges and six of the neighboring gentry and clergy offered their plate to the King, Sir Peter's gift in weight far exceeded that of any of the others, being some sixty-four pounds more than that of Magdalen College, which stood second.[40] Indeed he carried his loyal devotion so far as seriously to impoverish his family by a loan of £30,000 to the royal treasury, which owing to his death soon after, and also to the outcome of the war, was never repaid.[41]

He accompanied the Court to Oxford, where he died on December 5, 1643, and was buried on December 7 in Christ Church Cathedral, at the west end of the

[34] A. C. Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 89, 250. S.P., *Venetian*, 24 (1636–1639), pp. 464, October 23, 1638 (arrival of Crowe); 544, May 30, 1639 (Peter has at last left). His delay was due to waiting for his formal dismissal by the Sultan.

[35] A. C. Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 250, 251; J. T. Bent, *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (Hakluyt Society, 87. London: 1898), p. xliii.

[36] S.P., *Domestic*, Charles I, 6 (1639–1640), p. 589, March 27, 1640 (Sir Richard Cave to Sir Thomas Roe): "You are named for the office of Comptroller of the King's Household, but Sir Peter Wyche has offered £6000 for it, which shows that some money must be disbursed, yet not above half that sum is expected from you."

[37] *Ibid.* (1641–1643), pp. 73, August 5, 1641; 77, August 6, 1641. Both letters are to Sir Penington. The first says that Wyche had paid £5000; the second: "Sir Peter Wiche is made Comptroller of the household in place of Sir Thos. Jermyn, who had £7000 for it, and thinks himself well Repaid."

[38] S.P., *Venetian*, 25 (1640–1642), p. 203, August 28, 1641, where Giovanni Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador, writes that among the new appointments to the Council is the late ambassador to Constantinople.

[39] Wotton, *op. cit.*, IV, 221.

[40] J. Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa* (Oxford: 1761), I, p. 227, No. xxiv, from the Tanner MSS (Bodleian), vol. 338, p. 101. Sir Peter's gift weighed 360 lb., 5 oz., 13 dr.; that of Magdalen College, 296 lb., 6 oz., 10 dr.

[41] Wotton, *ibid.*, mentions this loan on the authority of P. Wyche, Arm., apparently a great-grandson of Sir Peter.

south choir aisle near the monument to Lord Grandison.[42] Here too on January 4, 1660/61 was buried Lady Wyche,[43] and somewhat later a marble slab with a long Latin inscription was placed over the grave by their second son, Sir Cyril.[44]

[42] S.P., *Domestic, Charles I,* 6 (1641–1643), p. 503, December 6, 1643; Secretary Nicholas writes to Sir Thomas Roe: "Mr. Comptroller died yesterday." A. Clark, *op. cit.* (p. 79, note 11), I, p. 105: "Sir Peter Wyche, kt., controller of the king's house, buried neare the lord Grandison's grave Th[ursday], 7 Dec. 1643; father to sir Cyrill Wyche." For the position of the grave see Anthony Wood, *Survey of the Antiquities of Oxford* (Oxford: 1890), II, p. 350 and Plan (1641) of Christ Church Cathedral.

[43] Clark, *op. cit.,* I, p. 378: "The 4 day of Jan. 1660 [O.S.] was the lady Merick [Lady Wyche had married again after Sir Peter's death] buried in Xt Church Oxon by her husband Sir Peter Wiche, knight, in the south aisle joyning to the quire." A note by Wood adds "over whose grave hangs six fair banners," followed by a description of the arms on each.

[44] The inscription was published by John Le Neve, *Monumenta Anglicana* (London: 1717), IV (1600–1649), p. 211, no. 405; and by Wotton, *op. cit.,* IV, no. 453, p. 222.

CHAPTER IV

Rinaldo de La Rue

I

THE ADVENTURES OF LA RUE

IN 1878 Friedrich von Duhn published from a manuscript in the Archivio di Stato at Florence an account of the principal antiquities of Athens, written by a certain Rinaldo de La Rue, an engineer in Morosini's artillery, who had been present at the Venetian capture of the city in 1687.[1]

As a simple "bombista" La Rue naturally is not mentioned in Morosini's dispatches nor in the contemporary histories of the siege,[2] and although his narrative shows him to have been an interested and fairly accurate observer, it lacks those personal touches which throw light on the character of the author or awaken curiosity as to his antecedents. And yet the fact remains that in an army gathered from a large part of Europe and in which men of education were not wanting,[3] he alone, so far as we know, took sufficient interest in the monuments of Athens to prepare a systematic description of their remains and to add such information as he could collect on the spot concerning their identity and history.[4] This unique

[1] *Archaeologische Zeitung,* XXXVI, 1878, pp. 55–65. Von Duhn heard of this manuscript from G. Lumbroso, and published it, with some omissions, from a copy obtained for him by D. Comparetti. The manuscript is in *Miscellanea Medicea, Filza 128, No. 39* (old number, *F. 57, No. 17*), from which it is published below (§ III), including the parts omitted by Von Duhn.

A little pamphlet of four pages (see below, § IV) entitled "Relazione delle Cose piu Curiose, ed antiche, che si ritrovano in vicinanza di Atene," which appeared in Venice in December, 1687, is said by Matteo del Teglia (see below, note 175) to have been the work of La Rue. It was later reprinted with a number of verbal changes and a few corrections in Locatelli, II, pp. 24–34, and the *Galleria di Minerva,* I, 1696, pp. 382–384.

[2] For his death at Negroponte see below, p. 128.

[3] At a festive dinner at Corinth before leaving for Athens Königsmark talked of Aristotle in both Latin and Greek, and he and his officers agreed that at Athens they would teach the Captain General (Morosini) to speak Latin. Journal of Anna Akerhjelm in Laborde, II, p. 314.

[4] It is very doubtful whether the author of the work of which a manuscript exists in Venice (Museo Civico, *MSS. Correr, 1145 = Miscellanea XVI, 1570;* cf. S. Lambros, *Comptes rendus du Congrès international d'archéologie.* 1. *Athènes,* 1905, pp. 292, 293) and also in the Phillips Library, Cheltenham (*No. 5719;* cf. C. Waldstein, *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* IV, 1883, pp. 85–89; Omont, *Athènes,* p. 13), was ever in Athens. The title reads: "Descrittione dell' Antichità d'Atene finite (*sic*) di rincavare (Phillips, *ricavare;* see the facsimile in Waldstein, following p. 88; printed on p. 89 as *ricavara*) li. 10. Xbre dell'anno 1687 S.N.," but another very fragmentary copy in Venice (Museo Civico, *Misc. 1107*) reads "tradotte" for "finite di rincavare," and the text bears in some places a resemblance to the Italian translation of Spon.

distinction may be deemed sufficient justification for presenting in some detail the fragmentary account of his adventures which may be gathered from the Florentine Archives.[5]

Most of our information about La Rue before his arrival in Venice is furnished by the voluminous correspondence[6] which the Abbé Carlo Antonio Gondi,[7] from

[5] Information about La Rue's life in France and Martinique between 1680 and 1684 is contained in the following numbers of the *Archivio Mediceo* in the Archivio di Stato at Florence:

Arch. Med. 4769; 4781; 4782: Correspondence between C. A. Gondi in Paris and F. Panciatichi, First Secretary of State in Florence. No. *4769* contains Gondi's letters in cipher, with interlinear decipherment, and the drafts of Panciatichi's replies in clear, from January 1, 1679, to March 6, 1682. Nos. *4781* (for 1680) and *4782* (for 1681, 1682) contain the same letters as *4769*, but with Panciatichi's letters in cipher, with decipherment, and Gondi's replies in clear. The letters as drafted and as deciphered are almost identical except in details of spelling or minor verbal changes. In the passages quoted later only such variations are noted as affect the meaning. No. *4782* contains the original letters of La Rue; *4769* the original deposition (see below, p. 101) and the copies sent by Gondi to Florence.

Arch. Med. 4791: Correspondence of D. Zipoli in Paris with C. A. Gondi, now Secretary of State in Florence, from March, 1682, to December, 1685, including the autograph letters of La Rue sent by Zipoli to Florence. Unfortunately in this volume the drafts of Gondi's replies are lacking.

Arch. Med. 4792 (1686–1687) and *4793* (1688–1689) continue this correspondence, including drafts of Gondi's replies, but contain almost no references to La Rue.

All these volumes were used by Baccini and Rodocanachi in their works on Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans (see the following note), but with only slight attention to the information about La Rue. So far as I am aware the material in the following volumes has hitherto escaped notice.

Arch. Med. 1610: Miscellaneous letters and drafts of Gondi from 1682–1691. It contains four letters referring to La Rue written by Gondi and Panciatichi between 1682 and 1684, after the return of the former to Florence.

For La Rue's life in Venice almost the only source is the correspondence of Matteo del Teglia, *Maestro della Posta di Firenze* in Venice.

Arch. Med. 3042 (1683, 1684); *3043* (1685–1687): Letters of Teglia to Panciatichi and drafts of the Secretary's replies. The infrequent references to La Rue are concerned with his arrival in Venice and the aid given him by the Grand Duke. The "Avvisi" sent twice a week by Teglia to Florence naturally contain no reference to La Rue.

Arch. Med. 1656: "Venetia, Diversi. 1684 al 1691. Lettere e Memorie al Sig^re^ Abate Gondi." The volume contains many letters from Teglia to Gondi of a more personal character than his official correspondence with Panciatichi, and giving more information about La Rue, in whom Gondi had a special interest. Unfortunately there is no record of Gondi's replies. Among the letters of A. Guasconi to Gondi is one referring to La Rue. (See below, note 184.)

Arch. Med. 1577: "Lettere al Segrio Apollonio Bassetti. Venezia e Dominio, 1687–1688." Among the letters of Guasconi is one referring to La Rue and enclosing a receipt signed by him (see below, *ibid.*). This incident is also the subject of three letters of Gondi, Guasconi, and Bassetti in *Arch. Med. 1607*, which contains chiefly letters of Bassetti to Guasconi from 1684 to 1687. The drafts of most of these letters are in *1577*.

In referring to these manuscripts I omit *Arch. Med.*, and give only the number, date of letter, and where the folios are numbered, also the folio.

[6] In the preparation of this section I have been much aided by the references to documents given by Giuseppe Baccini in *Margherita Luisa d'Orléans, Granduchessa di Toscana. Documenti inediti tratti dall' Archivio di Stato di Firenze* (Firenze: 1898). *Bibliotechnica Grassocia, Capricci e Curiosità*, Nos. 34, 35. Reprint, Milan; 1923: *Margherita Luisa d'Orléans, Gran-*

1671 to 1682 resident envoy of Tuscany at the French Court, and his successor, Domenico Zipoli (1682–1689), devoted to the misdeeds, real or alleged, of Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans, the wife of the reigning Grand Duke, Cosimo III, who after fourteen years in Florence, where her married life had been marked by constant friction and frequent violent quarrels with her husband, had finally wrung from the reluctant Grand Duke permission to return to France and take up her residence in the convent of Montmartre.[8] Knowing the self-willed and reckless disposition of his pleasure-loving wife, Cosimo, who considered retirement to a convent as implying renunciation of the world, insisted on her written assent

duchessa di Toscana, Documenti inediti (*I Classici d'Amore*, Serie III, XII) (the pages of this edition when given below are in brackets), and by E. Rodocanachi in *Les Infortunes d'une petite-fille d'Henri IV: Marguerite d'Orléans, Grande Duchesse de Toscane, 1645–1721* (Paris: *s.a.*). These works are cited below simply by the name of the author. La Rue's connection with the Grand Duchess is very briefly treated by Baccini in his Introduction (pp. 37–38 [24]; 69–72 [39f.]. Rodocanachi (pp. 337–362) is more detailed and publishes a somewhat important document, only summarized by Baccini. His account, however, is in many particulars inconsistent with the evidence, and I have therefore thought it best to support my statements by somewhat full quotations from documentary sources. Neither of these authors tells us anything about La Rue's life in Venice and Greece. G. Conti (*Firenze dai Medici ai Lorena*, Firenze, 1909) contributes nothing of value on La Rue.

[7] Gondi, who with his two brothers shared the favor of the Grand Duke, had been made Canon of the Duomo of Florence in 1664, when he was twenty-two years of age. On his recall to Florence in 1682, after his ten years of service as envoy in France, he held for many years the office of Secretary of State. See Jean de Corbinelli, *Histoire génealogique de la maison de Gondi* (Paris: 1705), I, pp. cxxxix–cxlii; below, note 105. From the following account of his relations with La Rue Gondi's devotion to the Grand Duke and his astute activity in the discharge of his duties may be seen.

[8] Marguerite-Louise, eldest daughter of Gaston d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIII, by his second wife, Marguerite de Lorraine, was born July 28, 1645. Baccini (p. 9) gives the year as 1647, but from the inscription on her casket (Baccini, p. 244; Rodocanachi, p. 472), "decedée à Paris le 17^{me} de Septembre, 1721, agée de 76 ans et deux mois," 1645 is seen to be the correct date.

After somewhat involved negotiations between Mazarin and the Grand Duke Ferdinand II, she was married — sorely against her will, for she was in love with her cousin, Charles of Lorraine — on April 18, 1661, to Cosimo, Prince of Tuscany, who succeeded to the throne in 1670 on the death of his father. Although she bore him three children, Ferdinand (1663), Anna Maria (1667), and Giovanni Gastone (1670), the last Medicean Grand Duke, the estrangement from her husband, which had begun almost on her arrival in Florence, steadily increased, until on December 22, 1672, she retired to Poggio a Caiano and in a passionate letter to the Grand Duke declared her determination never to return to Florence. At Poggio she remained under the strict surveillance promptly established by Cosimo, in spite of the efforts of Louis XIV to effect a reconciliation, until June 10, 1675, when she left for France via Leghorn and Marseilles, arriving at Montmartre on July 21. In 1692 she moved to the Benedictine convent of St. Mandé, and finally to the convent of the Augustinian nuns at Picpus, where she died on September 17, 1721. She was buried at St. Denis. Rodocanachi (p. 321) has pointed out that the contemporary gazettes, letters, and memoirs refer to Marguerite only incidentally and in what may be called her official character, while our knowledge of her private life is almost wholly derived from the Florentine records written by her enemies and in great part due to the reports of paid spies. It seems clear that however reprehensible her conduct may have appeared to Cosimo and his envoys, it was at least so far concealed as not to attract public attention.

to various conditions designed to secure this result; and Marguerite, who certainly had no intention of living the life of a recluse, but was willing to accept any terms that would enable her to escape from Tuscany, finally agreed to his requirements,[9] although once safely in France she gave small heed to the restrictions to which she had consented. It might have been supposed that the Grand Duke, who was powerless to compel her obedience, would have been content to let her go her own way, confident that her cousin, Louis XIV, would take care that her actions caused no public scandal.[10] On the contrary Cosimo showed the most intense curiosity as to every detail of her private life, and constantly endeavored to induce Louis to exercise some control over her amusements and associates. Under these circumstances Gondi, who was devoted to his master, speedily established a remarkably complete system of espionage,[11] through which her every suspicious action or unguarded word was duly reported to him to be used as a ground for demanding from the king some new intervention; and all this apparently without arousing the suspicions of his victim, with whom indeed he remained outwardly on friendly terms.

In this mass of generally scandalous gossip La Rue first becomes prominent in November, 1680, but he had entered the service of the Grand Duchess some ten years earlier, while she was still in Italy.[12] We have no information as to the date or place of his birth, but since in 1684 he is still called "giovane,"[13] we may reasonably assume that he was born between 1655 and 1660, possibly at Angers, where his father was certainly living in 1681. We also hear of a sister to whom he was much attached and who was at one time in the service of the Grand Duchess,[14] from whom she had suffered much ill-treatment. According to Baccini,

[9] For the long negotiations and the final contracts see Baccini, pp. 45–48 [28–29]; Rodocanachi, pp. 196–213; 484–487.

[10] For the king's determination to prevent injurious publicity see below, notes 43, 66, and for his success cf. Rodocanachi, p. 321.

[11] Cf. Baccini, p. 52 [31]. For example, regular allowances seem to have been paid by Cosimo to the Count and Countess of Sainte-Mesme, who were at the head of Marguerite's household, to two of her maids, Mlles. Charenton and Saunière, who were dismissed with threats in 1681 (*4769,* June 30, 1681; cf. Baccini, p. 145 [76]), and after March, 1680 (*4769,* March 1 and reply, March 23; cf. *ibid.,* November 8, 1680, and reply, November 30), to Cintia Galoppini (for her surname cf. *4783,* December 20, 1684), her principal maid and special confidante, who proved a most valuable source of information. Among those who from time to time received presents for their reports were the Abbess of Montmartre, Françoise-Renée de Lorraine (*4769, 4781,* December 6, 1680; cf. December 13), and her sister, Mlle. de Guise, aunt by marriage of Marguerite's sister, Elizabeth, the widowed Duchess of Guise.

[12] See La Rue's deposition, April 15, 1681: "J'en ay fait une rude penitence pendant six mois de prison . . . et de plus envoyé à la Martinique sans un sou ny maille pour recompense pour dix ans de service." (*4769,* May 9, 1681; cf. Rodocanachi, p. 358.)

[13] *1656,* October 11, 1684. Cf. also below, notes 42, 151.

[14] "Et circa la sorella che esso [La Rue] ama teneramente mi [Gondi] ha parimente pregato di volerla rimandare à suo Padre à Angers." *4769, 4782,* April 21, 1681. On Mlle. de La Rue see below, note 195.

during La Rue's stay in Italy, when he can have been little more than a boy, Marguerite, who was passionately fond of music, had him taught singing by the celebrated musician, Jacopo Melani of Pistoia, and after he had sung in various theatres in Italy, took him back into her household and made him her favorite page.[15] In addition to his musical training he must have received more than merely elementary instruction, for his spelling and handwriting are noticeably good for the time, and he was able to pursue with success the study of mathematics at Padua,[16] while the account of Athens is obviously the work of an educated man, even though most of its learning was certainly collected for the occasion.

In France La Rue, now *valet de chambre,* for some time continued to occupy the privileged position he had held in Italy. Marguerite enjoyed his singing,[17] and apparently also his conversation, in which, if report spoke true, she permitted him a somewhat astonishing freedom of speech.[18] Indeed an undue use of this liberty, coupled with a certain facility in composing satirical verses upon other members of the household,[19] contributed not a little to his subsequent misfortunes. Apart from these indiscretions of speech, however, there appears to be no reliable evidence that his relations with his mistress were other than those of a faithful servant, jealous indeed of her good name and ready to criticize sharply her behaviour, or even to hinder actions which he feared might bring her into ill-repute, but otherwise conducting himself in a way that successfully avoided

[15] Baccini, pp. 37–38 [24]:

Fece [la Granduchessa] instruire nella musica e nel canto un giovinetto francese, certo La Rue che mantenne più anni a tutte sue spese a Pistoia presso il celebre musicista Jacopo Melani. Il giovinetto divento un artista, cantò in vari teatri d'Italia e preso a benvolere dalla sua benefattrice fu condotto da lei in Francia a Montmartre come suo paggio favorito.

Unfortunately Baccini does not cite his authority for these statements, and I have not found the documents he must have used. We know that later La Rue could not secure an engagement in the Venetian theatres because of his French accent (*1656,* Teglia to Gondi, June 14, 1684: "Dubito bene di non poterlo servire nelle prossime recite di questi Teatri, a riguardo della pronuncia francese." Cf. also the letter quoted below, note 138). In the boy singer this defect may have been less noticeable or it may have been overlooked in the protégé of the Grand Duchess.

[16] See below, pp. 121–123.

[17] His ability seems to have been well known to Marguerite's friends; cf. *4769, 4781,* December 13, 1680: "quando fu la Granduchessa altrimente alla Corte una Dama li domandò se haveva più appresso di se quel francese che cantava in Italia (*4781,* in Italiano) a che ella rispose di no perchè non era più al suo servizio." La Rue was at this time in the prison of St. Lazare.

[18] For an extreme example of this freedom see below, note 33.

[19] La Rue refers to these verses more than once in his deposition; for example, "Madame de Monlion . . . ayant rompu avec moy pour des vers que je fis sur sa beauté perdue" (Rodocanachi, p. 350); "Il . . . reste une fort jolie histoire que l'on me dit, et ou d'Estampes, Madame de Monlion et autres me prierent de travailler, c'est-à-dire en faire une espece de satyre" (*idem,* p. 357).

scandal.[20] At least it seems reasonable to infer both his discretion and his loyalty from two facts: Gondi at no time endeavored to remove him from the household of the Grand Duchess, as he frequently did others whom he suspected of an undue favor; and so long as La Rue remained in her service any attempt to suborn him was clearly thought useless.[21]

According to La Rue's own statement the *fons et origo mali* was the entry of a certain Chantilly[22] into the service of the Grand Duchess as groom. Gondi's informants represent him as a coarse, drunken lout, devoid of any attractive qualities; but whatever his character, it is certain that he speedily won the favor of his mistress,[23] who showered attentions upon him, and indeed so conducted herself as to arouse among those familiar with her private life the very gravest suspicions. Here, however, we are concerned with this strange and sordid infatuation, which continued for several years, only so far as it affected the fortunes of La Rue. He tells us that at Montmartre he was accustomed, after Marguerite had supped, to sing for her in the parlor of the convent until her maids returned from their own meal. When he fell ill, probably in the autumn of 1678,[24] the Grand Duchess seized the opportunity to call Chantilly from the stables to fill his place in the parlor, and after La Rue's recovery and resumption of his service, she continued to keep both in attendance until a late hour.[25]

[20] Baccini seems to go beyond the evidence (though not beyond the gossip of Montmartre) when he writes (p. 69 [39]): "Sembra che in seguito il giovinetto s'innamorasse della padrona e che per gelosia del garzone di stalla Gentilly, cadesse in disgrazia della Granduchessa." This theory, when advanced by the Marquis de Croissy or by Louis himself, was energetically rejected by Gondi, who repeatedly declares in his letters to Florence that La Rue was wholly innocent of any offence against the Grand Duchess. Certainly if they had believed him to be guilty, neither the Grand Duke nor Gondi would have shown him so much favor after he left France. I can find no evidence for Rodocanachi's statement (p. 362) that after his return from Martinique he on one occasion boasted in his cups that he had been her lover.

[21] Cf. *4769, 4781,* November 8, 1680, when Gondi has heard that La Rue is likely to be dismissed; see below, note 27.

[22] *Chantilly* is the form used by La Rue and sometimes by Gondi in the drafts of his letters (*4781, 4782*); in the deciphered Italian text we find either *Gentilly* or *Gentilli.*

[23] One of the first references to Chantilly is near the end of a long letter of Gondi (*4769,* October 21, 1678; Baccini, p. 111 [61]). The Grand Duchess had been spending a few weeks in the country at Sainte-Mesme. The Comte de Sainte-Mesme was her "chevalier d'honneur." He received a regular allowance from Cosimo for information. Among the diversions of the Grand Duchess was dancing: "et ne i quali balli ha voluto benche in privato danzar con tutti in riguardo di un suo palafreniere chiamato Gentilli che ella ha havuto gusto di far ballare, di che esso il Conte se ne è scandalizzato; ma in Campagna ella dice di voler vivere a suo modo et con libertà." This is the text of the manuscript. Baccini here and elsewhere has modernized it to some extent, while preserving the meaning.

[24] This date is suggested by the letter *4769,* November 11, 1678. The Grand Duchess was at Montmartre: "Ella habbia gusto a conversare al parlatorio la sera con Gentilli suo palafreniere."

[25] Cf. the beginning of La Rue's deposition (see below, p. 100), here printed from the first draft:

Pour scavoir la Raison pourquoy lon ma mis a St. Lazare Il fault reprendre la chose de plus loin, & pour ainsy dire du Jour que S A R a pris Chantilly a son service pour Pallefrenier. Je passois ordinaire-

As time went on La Rue certainly made no effort to conceal from his fellow servants or from Chantilly himself his contempt for the latter's boasting and his resentment at the favor which he enjoyed.[26] Marguerite herself apparently ignored this attitude at first, but as her fondness for Chantilly increased, the constant watchfulness of La Rue, which greatly curtailed her opportunities for private conversation with her favorite, became more and more irksome, accompanied as it was by very free criticism of her conduct, and finally in the autumn of 1680 she confided to the Abbess of Montmartre that she had determined to dismiss him without warning, although for the moment she preferred to conceal her intentions.[27] This caution, so foreign to her impetuous disposition, was certainly due to her conviction that La Rue once free would carry his grievances to the Grand Duke,[28] and she therefore sought an occasion which might justify not merely discharge but condign punishment.

The desired opportunity was furnished early in November, when La Rue, exasperated by repeated affronts, was at last provoked to an outburst which afforded an admirable pretext for his disgrace. One evening the conversation turned upon rivalry in love, and La Rue with some heat declared that he could not understand how certain people without birth, breeding, or good looks could inspire affection rather than aversion, and that if he ever found such a rival preferred to himself, he would be tempted to wipe out the affront in blood.[29] The meaning of

ment deux heures apres le souper de S A R, pendant que Ses femmes soupoint au petit parloir, a chanter lorsque ayant esté obligé de garder le lit pendant quelque temps, pour ne pas demeurer seule dans son parloir S A R fit monter ce Chantilly et depuis me portant mieux nous continuasmes, et l'un et l'autre a monter a le parloir pour ne pas laisser S A R seule, Jusques a ce que une femme de chambre ayant soupé nous venoit relever de cette espece de sentinelle mais depuis la chose allant plus avant de Jour en Jour nous ne nous en retournions plus qua minuit.

(*4782*, with a letter of April 21, 1681.) The revised version, as copied for Florence, is printed by Rodocanachi, pp. 347–348.

[26] This is shown by numerous passages in La Rue's deposition; e.g., Rodocanachi, pp. 348, 349, 357.

[27] Questo [La Rue] trovandosi stomacato di procedimenti di Gentilly hà parlato fuori di tal cosa; onde la Gran Duchessa lo vuol cacciar via et hà però detto alla Badessa che per un poco li conviene dissimulare, ma che non lo vuol più, et lo vuol' licenziare all' improviso. Egli seguita però a parlare et non è dubbio che quando non sarà più seco dirà tutto quello che ha veduto et udito et è tanto più loquace, quanto che per obligarlo a andarsene via, volse che partisse di Alençon con la livrea addosso, che li fece pigliare a posto nel giorno che partì di colà (*4769*, *4781*, November 8, 1680; Baccini, p. 123 [66–67]).

So far as I have observed, this is the first mention of La Rue by Gondi. The last sentence shows clearly that Gondi's only interest in La Rue was as a possible source of information against the Grand Duchess.

[28] Gondi's letter of November 22, 1680 (*4781*; *4769* is torn and in places illegible):

Quando la Badessa . . . li [la Gran Duchessa] ha di nuovo raccomandato detto la Rue acciò che lo faccia mettere in libertà, li ha ella risposto che se ne guarderà bene, perchè subito che fusse fuori se ne andrebbe in Italia a dire al Gran Duca molte cose che egli sa et che ella non vuole che esso vi vadia ne vuole, ne anche che abbia a parlare ne quà ne colà.

[29] This incident is described by La Rue in his deposition as follows:

Le soir d'ensuivant ayant d'ailleurs assès de matière de chagrin ie ne peus m'empescher ayant le

this speech was all too clear, and in fact so alarmed Chantilly that he barricaded himself in his room that night in fear of an attack by La Rue.[30] The Grand Duchess herself passed over the incident at the time in silence, but the next day, through Estampes, her equerry (*écuyer*), came to an understanding with the authorities of Saint-Lazare[31] and then sent La Rue with a sum of money to that establishment, where he was at once placed in close confinement for three months, ostensibly to punish his impertinence, but really, according to Cintia Galoppini,[32] Gondi's most valuable agent at Montmartre, to obtain greater freedom for her conversations with Chantilly.[33]

Gondi, who had hoped to receive from La Rue, smarting under a humiliating dismissal, full information about the misconduct of the Grand Duchess,[34] was

bâle en main de ne pas dire mon sentiment; on parloit d'l'amour (conversation qui estroit assès ordinaire tous les soirs) et on tomba sur le chapitre des Rivaux, pour moy disie avec un peu d'emportement, ie ne peus pas comprendre comme on peut aymer de certaines personnes qui n'ont ny qualité, ny esprit, ny bien, et qui sont faits d'un air a donner plustot de l'aversion que de l'amour et si mal heureusement jaymois une mesme maitresse et que ie me visse preferer un tel Rival ie croy que ie laverois dans son sang l'offence qu'on m'auroit faite: la chose estoit trop claire pour ne pas s'en appercevoir (*4769, loc. cit.;* Rodocanachi, p. 351).

Gondi's letter of November 15, 1680 (*4769, 4781:* Baccini, pp. 124–125 [68]) gives substantially the same account.

[30] Gondi in his letter of November 15 says the Grand Duchess understood La Rue to refer to Chantilly, "et si vedde che il prefato Gentilly hebbe pur anco tal concetto, mentre la notte si serrò forte in camera sua per la paura che la Rue non lo volesse attacare."

[31] In 1632 St. Vincent-de-Paul established in the old buildings of the mediaeval leper hospital of St.-Lazare his new order for the relief of suffering among the poor. Even then it contained a few prisoners and by 1680 a part of the buildings was used, according to the Lazaristes themselves, as a "maison de force" for the correction of those of evil life. The prisoners were in general young men of good family who were committed on a "Lettre de Cachet" at the request of their relatives addressed to a Minister or the police (Léon Bizard et Jane Chapon, *Histoire de la prison de St. Lazare du moyen-âge à nos jours.* Paris: 1925, pp. 88, 90–91).

[32] Avendo per allora dissimulato, ordinò a Monsr d'Estampes di concertare con quelli di S. Lazaro di rinchiudere quel giovane; il che da lui eseguitosi ve lo mandò con lo strattagemma di già accennato con la precedente (*4769, 4781,* November 15, 1680; Baccini, p. 124).

Per mezzo di un viglietto della Cintia (see above, p. 87, n. 11) io so che la Rue, che la Gran Duchessa mandò martedi (i.e., November 5) a S. Lazaro che è un luogo come quello di nostri monelli sotto pretesto di portarvi del denaro, non è più tornato a Montmartre, onde non sarebbe gran fatto che ve lo havesse fatto rinserrare per obligarlo stante tale affronto a licenziarsi da lei et dare quel suo posto di poi a Gentilly (*4769, 4781,* November 8, 1680, postscript to letter of Gondi; Baccini, p. 123 [67]).

[33] The causes of La Rue's disgrace were thus summarized by Gondi:

Tengo nuovo riscontro per mezzo della Cintia che tutto il male della Rue non è altrimenti rivalità; ma procede da che volendo la Gran Duchessa star sola con Gentilly nel parlatorio, lo mandava ad ogni poco a far qualche cosa, onde cominciò a dire che non voleva esser servitore di un garzone di stalla, e cominciò a biasimarlo anche in faccia sua havendoli data familiarità di parlar libero da molto tempo avanti; onde le disse un giorno che la rispettava perchè era Gran Duchessa e l'ubbidirebbe sempre, ma che se ella fusse stata sua moglie che la saprebbe ben gastigare. Da tali ragionamenti ne è nata la di lei aversione, e bravava lui delli errori commessi da Gentilly, onde piglandosone collera non ha egli saputo tener la lingua a freno sopra la di lei domestichezza con lui. E tale e la pura verità del fatto (*4769, 4781,* November 15, 1680; Baccini, pp. 125, 126 [68, 69]).

[34] See the preceding note; also La Rue's deposition, *4769* with the letter of May 9, 1681; Rodocanachi, p. 350 (for *courier de chambre* in the latter read *Courier D'Ancone*). For Gondi's

much disturbed by this news, for he at once suspected that to secure La Rue's silence imprisonment might be followed by exile.[35] These suspicions were confirmed when he heard that Marguerite had received at Montmartre the bishop of Heliopolis, who was soon to visit the missions in Siam and might well be persuaded to take La Rue with him.[36] Convinced, therefore, that the Grand Duchess would never permit La Rue to leave Saint-Lazare except to be deported from France, Gondi at once entered on a campaign, which he pursued with untiring pertinacity, to secure the unconditional release of La Rue and the dismissal of Chantilly. Accordingly he promptly laid the whole matter before the Marquis de Croissy,[37] Secretary of State, for the information of the king, whose authority, he declared, could alone end such a disgraceful situation by compelling the dismissal of both servants with liberty to go where they would.[38]

On hearing the story from Croissy Louis, to whom such demands for his intervention to regulate the life of the Grand Duchess were no novelty, apparently gave little attention to the complaints against Chantilly, but was clearly impressed by La Rue's imprisonment and especially by the plan for his forcible removal from France. On this latter point his decision was at once taken and never varied: no such arbitrary assumption of authority by the Grand Duchess

hopes of information cf. above, note 27. The value of La Rue as a possible witness against the Grand Duchess was at once recognized in Florence, for in reply to Gondi's letter of November 15, telling of La Rue's imprisonment, Panciatichi wrote:

Per cavar quel' bene che si può da questi imbrogli de la Rue, stia V. S. Illme attento in metterli attorno qualche persona, di cui stimi di potersi fidare, quanto egli uscirà di San Lazzero ad oggetto di farlo parlare sopra gl'andamenti della Gran Duchessa con Gentilli et altro; poiche allora sarà facile che esca a dir tutto quel che saprà; et se bene non à tutto si doverà dar' fede et converrà far' la debita tara alle sue parole, che saranno per avventura dettate più dalla passione che dalla verità ad ogni modo serviranno à pigliarne gli opportuni riscontri et però essere che dia molti lumi che siano necessarij et giovino a bon regolarsi (*4781, 4769,* December 7, 1680).

[35] Et sarebbe facile ancora che forse per assicurarsi che non parli o la faccia tener racchiuso o procursi di mandarlo via lontano (*4769, 4781,* November 8, 1680, postscript; Baccini, p. 123 [67]).

Io so dalla Cintia che la verità è che si cerca per tale strada che se ne vada, non volendo che egli sia più presente alle di lei conferenze con Gentilly sopra di che hà egli parlato et sbottonato, et se ciò è vero io tengo sempre la mia opinione che per assicurarsi che egli non parli qui o pure in Italia, non sarebbe gran fatto che ella procurrasse di mandarlo in Canada (*4769, 4781,* November 15, 1680).

[36] See below, note 38.

[37] Charles Colbert, brother of the great Colbert, was appointed Minister and Secretary of State on November 25, 1679 (Rodocanachi, p. 335, n. 1). Gondi's interviews regularly took place at Court (Versailles or St.-Germain) on Tuesdays, and only exceptionally on other days in Paris.

[38] *4769, 4781,* Gondi, November 22, 1680:

A Mons. di Croissy non potei contenermi di non parlare Martedi (November 19) a Versailles con calore e con vehemenza rappresentando a S. Eccª che le impudenze della Gran Duchessa giugnevano a tali eccessi che oramai non si potessero più tollerare. Et presi pretesto di entrare in tal ragionamente col raccontarli il fatto sopra La Rue, et del concetto che ella può avere di mandarlo in Canada, ò nell' Indie Orientali onde può essere che a tal conto parlasse al Vescovo di Eliopoli che alcuni giorni sono fu da lei et che tra non molto tempo deve condursi in regno di Siam, particolarità che io ho saputo dalla Cintia.

could be tolerated.[39] Moreover even the imprisonment involved a serious irregularity, for La Rue had been confined on her demand without the requisite permission of the king, who had not even been informed of his arrival,[40] and Croissy was directed to call for an explanation of this neglect. Monsieur Jolly,[41] who as *Supérieur général* of the Order was responsible, at once admitted his fault, but pleaded that it was due to respect for his majesty's cousin and his supposition that she might herself have told the king. Thereupon Croissy, after administering a suitable reprimand, ordered him to permit no change in La Rue's condition without ascertaining the wishes of the king, and then inquired about the doings of the prisoner. He was informed that La Rue seemed in good spirits and passed his time in writing verses, but appeared ignorant of the reasons for his confinement.[42] Louis interpreted this cheerful demeanor as showing that La Rue had not committed a serious offence calling for severe punishment. He was in fact inclined to order his immediate release, but was deterred by fear of a violent outburst from the Grand Duchess, whereby the whole affair might come to light — and this he was absolutely determined to prevent. Croissy suggested that if La Rue were permitted to "escape," the king could reply to her complaint that he had received no report of the matter. Louis thought well of this plan, but finally concluded that as La Rue had been committed for three months he would issue no order until after further reflexion.[43]

[39] At another interview on December 3, Croissy told Gondi "che il Re ha risoluto di non permettere che la Gran Duchessa si prenda la libertà di mandar chi che sia senza causa in paesi remoti"; and further "che come Principe che ama naturalmente l'ordine in tutte le cose non voleva ne anche che la Gran Duchessa si arrogasse l'auttorità di forzar la volontà di chi che sia mandando fuori del proprio paese et in parti così lontane chi piace a lei" (*4769, 4781,* December 6, 1680).

[40] This appears clearly from a much later statement by Croissy:

Mi rispose S. Ecclza le medesime cose dettemi altre volte che la Casa di S. Lazaro era un luogo ove sono racchiusi i discoli, figliuoli di famiglia, et altre Persone che si danno in preda al mal fare, affine di correggerli et ridurli a migliore vita; ma che non vi possono esser gastigati se non per auttorità del Re, al quale per tal fine ne vien data parte et domandata la permissione; che per tal motivo non permetterebbe S.Mta che la Gran Duchessa si attribuisse un simile arbitrio (*4769, 4782,* February 14, 1681).

Cf. above, note 31.

[41] Edmé Jolly (not Joly as written by Gondi) was from 1673–1687 the third *Supérieur général de la Congrégation de St.-Vincent-de-Paul* (Bizard et Chapon, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 80).

[42] Et passò poi [Croissy] ad informarsi che cosa facesse quel giovane et che dicesse; alla quale interrogazione havendo replicato [Jolly] che faceva de versi et che stava allegramente et che quanto alla causa per cui era colà, non mostrava di saperla, et solo parlava di altri che erano appresso la Gran Duchessa et per la cagione di che diceva di essere stato mandato colà (*4769, 4781,* December 6, 1680).

[43] *Ibid.:* Et fu però S.Mata sul punto di ordinare che si mettesse in libertà accio che se ne andasse dove haverebbe voluto. Ma si ritenne la Mta Sua dal commettere tal cosa su la considerazione dello scalpore che la Gran Duchessa ne havrebbe potuto fare et del ricorso che a S.Mta medesima ne havrebbe voluto fare con altrettanta imprudenza, onde la cosa si publicasse il che la Mta Sua vuol' totalmente evitare et tenere il tutto sotto silenzio; Per lo che suggeritosi a S.Mta da Mons. di Croissy che si potrebbe farlo scappare in modo che apparisse che si fusse salvato et sostenere di poi contro i clamori della Gran Duchessa che sempre havrebbe sospettato del contrario di non ne haver havuto

To Gondi this indecision was most exasperating. It was impossible for him to communicate with La Rue, as Panciatichi had suggested, since only those sent by the Grand Duchess were permitted to see him, and the brothers who served in the prison refused to carry letters.[44] Were he once free, all would be easy. Gondi, therefore, hardly let a week pass without pressing upon Croissy the necessity for the immediate release of La Rue, and, above all, for the dismissal of Chantilly — not that he gained anything by his endless reiteration of the same arguments except somewhat vague assurances of the king's good intentions, which would be carried out at some convenient time. In fact, if Louis was resolved to permit no further encroachment on his royal authority by the Grand Duchess, he was equally determined to do nothing which might provoke an outbreak of her passionate temper, and to interfere only for the sake of preventing an open scandal.[45]

While Gondi was thus working to secure La Rue's release, Marguerite, who seems to have been wholly ignorant of these intrigues,[46] was actively seeking some way of removing him from France and Italy without resorting to open violence. When even her presents failed to induce the bishop of Heliopolis to take him to Siam,[47] and an attempt to place him in the service of the prince-bishop

nessuna notizia. Venne da S.Mtà approvato tal temperamento; ma l'apprehensione in S.Mtà della publicita et di dover havere la Gran Duchessa su la braccia per tal fatto lo ritenne pure dal darne l'ordine; Et poiche la Rue e rinserrato per tre mesi, et che suppose la Mtà Sua di haver tempo a deliberare con più accerto, commesse a S. Eccza di comunicarmi il tutto.

[44] In his letter of January 3, 1680/1 (*4769, 4782*) in reply to Panciatichi's letter of December 14:

Sinche La Rue stava in S. Lazero e impossibile il parlarli perche non lo lasciano vedere ad alcuno; Et solo li parla chi la Gran Duchessa manda in suo nome a darli qualche cosa. Et però per il riguardo di tale impossibilità io premo con Croissy che sia messo in libertà, perche allora haurò modo di metterli gente attorno, chi lo faccia parlare; altrimenti sin che sta racchiuso non occorre pensarvi; et quando si potesse ancora la Granduchessa lo saprebbe.

Nevertheless Gondi later made several unsuccessful attempts to introduce a trustworthy person into the prison, and duly reported his failures to Florence (*4769, 4782;* February 28, March 14, April 4. Cf. Panciatichi, May 3 and 10, 1681).

[45] It must be borne in mind that ever since Marguerite's return to France, Louis had been receiving, in the name of the Grand Duke, continual complaints from Gondi about her conduct and associates, and that he had never been disposed to take any further action than was necessary to prevent publicity.

[46] Gondi assured Croissy that Marguerite had never mentioned La Rue to him (*4769, 4782,* April 11, 1681); nor did she attempt to influence the king, for had she done so Louis would hardly have directed the Abbess of Montmartre to inform her,

che S.Mtà haveva notizia di tutta la concernanza de la Rue ma che per effetto di buona prudenza haveva dissimulato, che ella trattendo male la sua gente dava loro causa per sparlare nelle osterie et così si dava motivo a varij discorsi contro la sua reputazione; et che in fine la Mtà Sua si prometteva che ella cambierebbe di tal sorte il suo modo di agire, onde Sua Mtà ne fusse per rimanere sodisfatta (*ibid.,* July 18, 1681).

[47] "Ella prepara un regalo al Vescovo d'Eliopoli come per obligarlo per tal verso a non ricusarli di condur fuori di quà il detto la Rue" (*ibid.,* January 3, 1681). In fact Gondi was relieved only when the bishop finally sailed without La Rue (*ibid.,* February 7).

of Osnabrück proved equally fruitless,[48] she turned to Monsieur François, a director of the Company of Senegal,[49] who readily agreed to send La Rue to the West Indies by the first ship, on her representation that he was anxious to obtain employment there[50] — a statement which Gondi promptly assured Croissy was simply a lie (*bugia*).[51] This disrespectful verdict was probably correct, for La Rue proved by no means willing to consent, although he had been secretly advised by Cintia to feign an acceptance, which once out of prison he could easily disown, and he yielded only after the Grand Duchess had paid two visits to St. Lazare. On the first occasion, after a heated discussion in Italian, during which she told him that he must choose between perpetual prison and the West Indies, while he protested that he did not wish to go and begged on his knees for his release, he finally admitted that it was useless to resist further.[52] Her violence and

[48] This attempt to find a place for La Rue began in January and lasted over a month. It does not seem to have caused Gondi any great anxiety, probably because it did not promise to prevent the securing of information from La Rue (*ibid.*, January 3, 24, 31; February 7, 14).

[49] See below, Appendix II, 1.

[50] *4769, 4782* (Gondi), February 14, postscript:

Mi avvisa la Cintia in questo punto con suo viglietto che la Gran Duchessa ha fermato con Monr François, directeur des Indes o del'Mexique (Mérique?) il patto per mandar la Rue in America, et egli ha promesso di farlo con occasione del primo Vascello securo che vada a quella volta, et li hà figurato che egli desidera tal cosa, bramando havervi impiego.

Cintia's note is inserted in the draft of this letter in *4782*. It is not dated nor addressed, but was certainly written on Thursday, February 13, and probably addressed to her usual correspondent, Domenico Zipoli, Gondi's confidential secretary. As in her other letters she avoids proper names and is intentionally allusive and obscure:

Il negozio del prigione si accordò ieri che fu Mercoledi però per andare alla Mesica (all'America?) è chi fa l'affare hè un certo Monr françois qui he directeur de la mesique (l'Amerique?), che hè marito di quella donna che con quel inglese, il Sigre abate [Gondi] condusse à San Germano; lui li promesse che lo manderebbe per il primo vascello che partirebbe lei li disse che lui haveva volonta grande d'andarci è che lei haveva caro di manda[r] con persone sicure. io hó fatto dire al amico che pigli tutte le proposizioni che li saranno fatte da parte della sua padrona e che ne tiri quanto puole è che quando sarà fuora sarà à tempo a disdirsi. date al fuoco la lettera.

I have no clue to the Englishman whom Gondi conducted to Saint-Germain with Madame François. For Monsieur François see the preceding note. He was not as Rodocanachi states, "of St.-Lazare," p. 343, n. 3.

[51] *4782, 4796*, February 17, 1680/81.

[52] Gondi first heard of this visit on February 17 (*4769, 4782*, February 17, postscript):

La Cintia che e stata qui oggi da me mi ha detto che la Gran Duchessa andò Sabbato (February 15) a S. Lazero à parlare al la Rue. . . . Vi portò del denaro et parlò a detto La Rue sempre in segreto (*4782*, in Italiano) et vi dovesse esse presente Mr Joly, Direttore di quella Casa. Il suggetto del Colloquio fu per dirli o di risolversi a andare in America o di star sempre prigione.

When he told Croissy of this visit, he had secured fuller information:

Mi sono fatto specificare dalla Cintia . . . che la Gran Duchessa haveva parlato a quel giovane sempre in Italiano, et erano tra loro seguite più contestazioni, segno che egli non dava volentieri il suo assenso alla sua trasmigrazione; che haveva seco portato del denaro, forse per comprar l'assenso suddetto; et che ero assicurato che havesse ella parlato ancora al prementovato Monsr Joly.

This account of her visit was confirmed by Jolly, who sought instructions from Croissy and told him,

threats, however, reduced him to such despair that the brothers who ministered at the prison feared for his reason,[53] and Monsieur Jolly thought it best to consult Croissy, who told him once more that La Rue must not be removed without the consent of the king.[54] On her second visit the Grand Duchess seems to have adopted a milder tone, and endeavored to obtain by promises a voluntary acceptance of her proposals in place of a compulsory submission. As a result of these methods she secured La Rue's written consent to go, on condition that she would provide him employment and also arrange a marriage for his sister. In Gondi's words, "Ella li fa il ponte d'oro et li promette tutto," even sending Estampes and François to assure him that there was a place waiting for him in Martinique as clerk with the latter's brother.[55]

These developments, promptly reported by Cintia and his other agents, stirred

che ella voleva assolutamente che la Rue andasse in America ove il farebbe havere un impiego; che quel giovane protestava di non volervi andare; ma che diceva in fine che li convenerrebbe far quel che ella vorrebbe. Insomma li ha attestato che ella usa della violenza, et però era andato da S. Ecclza per intendere quel' che havesse da ordinarli (*4769, 4782,* February 21, 1681).

For La Rue's account of this visit, see his deposition (Rodocanachi, p. 352) and Gondi's letter of April 21: "Alle quale Serma che vedde sola egli parlò et si buttò in ginocchio avanti di essa per haverla liberta che non volse consentirli, anzi dice [La Rue] che fù da lei minacciato fortemente se non aderiva a suoi voleri."

[53] See the letter of Cintia, dated "20 febbo 1681," and filed in the draft of Gondi's letter of February 21 (*4782*):

Lo scrupolo de quei reverendi [the brothers of St.-Vincent-de-Paul] è stato tanto grande che non li anno volsuto di nulla [.] dicano che questo li farebbe torto e che non glie ne parlassi da vantaggio mà quel' che li anno detto di lui, è che da domenica in qua gli era in uno stato da fare compassione alle pietre, che si disperava in maniera che havevano paura che non perdessi il cervello; e tutto quel' che li potevano dire per consolarlo non serviva di niente e che li rispondeva io conosco la granduchessa quando à risoluto una cosa non cè modo di farla disdire [.] quello hè quanto ne anno cavato; li anno detto che ieri il padre giolÿ li parlò lungho tempo non si sà poi se lui si sarà ardito di dirli il suo sentimento perche come il detto padre era in presenza della granduchessa quando li parlava lui haverà facilmente paura di scoprirli i suoi veri sentimenti temendo che non li riferisca alla detta granduchessa, ma il disperarsi tanto fa vedere evidentemente che lui non ci vole andare che non ha mai hauto detti sentimenti.

Gondi heard from the Abbess of Montmartre that the Grand Duchess had said that if La Rue did not yield, it would be easy to have him strangled in the prison, and had intimated as much to La Rue (*4769, 4782;* February 21, 1681).

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Gondi, *ibid.*, at the end of the letter:

La Gran Duchessa doveva oggi incognitamente ricondursi dall' hotel di Guisa a S. Lazero per indurre La Rue a non esitare a prendere il partito di passare in America, et per dirli che già havesse colà un impiego per lui. Il Conte di St. Mesme e venuto a darmene parte.

On the following Tuesday, February 25, he told Croissy of this visit (*4769, 4782;* February 28):

La Granduchessa ha tanta tatto che ha in fine ridotto la Rue a dire, o sia finzione o sia verità, il che non so per adesso, che andrà in America purche li faccia haver un impiego et che mariti la di lui sorella, et li ha spiegato tal' sua volentà in scritta. Ella li fa il ponte d'oro et li promette tutto, e hà mandato da lui Monsr d'Estampes con Monsr françois directeur des Indes per assicurarlo che lo mettera colà appresso del suo fratello in qualità di suo commesso (*ibid.*, postscript).

Gondi to even more frequent and vigorous protests against further temporizing.[56] The result was very much what might have been expected. He was told that while the king would not permit the use of force, he could not properly prevent La Rue's voluntary departure; moreover if he were so far away, a very desirable silence could be preserved about the doings of the Grand Duchess.[57] In vain Gondi, while admitting that the king could not interfere, if La Rue really wished to go, insisted, at first, that his consent was merely a device to secure the release of La Rue, and so his freedom to earn his living as a musician in Italy or elsewhere,[58] but later, after hearing of Marguerite's visits to the prison, maintained that her threats had forced him to yield.[59] Louis still thought it best to let things take their course,[60] and now plainly declared that he did not intend to enter into any discussion with the Grand Duchess upon this subject or any other. As

[56] See Gondi's letters of Monday, February 17, 21, and 28. In ten days (February 15–25) he had no less than four interviews with Croissy, instead of the usual two.

[57] Era S.M.ta in tal caso (i.e., if La Rue really wished to go) determinata pure di lasciar correre le cose non potendo ne dovendo impedire che i suoi sudditi vadano ove bramano volontariamente di condursi (*4769, 4782;* February 21).

[58] In reporting an interview with Croissy, Gondi wrote on December 27:

Soggiunsi di poi che come non era da credersi che il prementovato la Rue volesse star più al servizio di lei (la Granduchessa), cosi si dovesse lasciarli la liberta di andar ovunque più li piacesse. Che come cantava egli bene la musica italiana, et haveva buona voce cosi non li mancherebbe da vivere andando a Venezia o a Roma per esercitarvisi nella sua professione (*4769, 4782*).

On January 25, 1681, Panciatichi replied:

Per ogni caso che questa mia le giunga in tempo che l'istesso la Rue non sia o liberato o partito, mi commanda S.A. di scrivere a V. Illma, che veda à farli ordinare che, volendo andare à Roma o a Venezia ò in altro luogo d'Italia, non si lasci vedere à Firenze; poiche si considera che potrebbe cicalare con queste Dame che hanno servito alla Gran Duchessa o con altri suoi conoscenti; et e bene che cio si sfugga per molti riguardi; et più tosto ella si lasci andare a regalarlo di qualche dobla, mentre le prometta di tenersi lontano da questo Paese (*4769, 4782*).

In another conversation with Croissy Gondi reports (*ibid.*, February 21):

Replicai . . . che sapesse S. Eccla che egli (La Rue) non vi haveva disposizione veruna, et era finzione sua quella che haveva mostrato di havervi cercando per tal verso di escire di S. Lazero per disdirsi quando ne sarebbe fuori, non mirandosi da lui se non ad andare in Italia o altrove, ove potesse con la musica tirarsi avanti, non havendo altro modo di questo per poter vivere ne sapendo altri mest(r)iere, con cui potesse guadagnare la vita.

See also the letter of Cintia cited above, note 53:

La sua intenzione e stata sempre d'andarsene in italia per perfezzionarsi nella musica italiana come hà sempre detto a un suo amico intimo e deffatto se questa disgrazia non li fosse sopragiunta lui aspettava la primavera. li faranno una gran carità di lasciarlo andare perche troverà piu a guadagnare la sua vita con la virtù che Dio li hà dato che in tutti altri luogo è li dò la buona sera.

[59] See above, notes 53, 55. Gondi further tells Croissy (*ibid.*, February 28) "che ella (la Granduchessa) nel doppo pranzo del trascorso Venerdi si ricondusse a S. Lazero . . . per minacciar la Rue se non si risolveva ad andarsene in America per accettarvi un impiego che li figurò di haverli trovato in qual lontano paese."

[60] Se la Mta Sua lasciasse correre quella pendenza (i.e., the case of La Rue) senza prendersene cura accio che pigli da se quell' esito che la fortuna li può dare reputava che le cose camminerebbero meglio (Croissy's reply, as reported by Gondi, *4769, 4782;* February 28, 1861).

Gondi nevertheless persisted, he finally received a reply which showed that his importunity was becoming wearisome to the king. Croissy informed him that his majesty intended to satisfy the Grand Duke, but would make no statement as to the time or method of his action, which would be taken without notice, "ma per auttorità assoluta et suprema di suo proprio motu." It might be well to send both La Rue and Chantilly to America, with the proviso that the former should be free to return if he wished, while the latter would be forbidden to set foot again in France on pain of the gallows.[61] The Secretary added that since the king would act according to his good pleasure, it was not fitting to press him further. Gondi evidently felt the rebuke, for he did not mention La Rue for three weeks, although he saw Croissy as usual on Tuesdays.

Meanwhile the preparations for La Rue's departure advanced rapidly. The Grand Duchess entrusted d'Estampes with the provision of all that was necessary for the voyage, and with the packing of La Rue's books, clothing, and other possessions.[62] It would seem, however, that like Gondi she was by no means certain of La Rue's sincerity, for she ordered his baggage to be forwarded in advance, that fear of losing all he possessed might prevent any attempt at escape,[63] while still further to secure his obedience and silence, she decided to send him directly from Saint-Lazare to the ship without permitting any stay in Paris.[64] As Gondi had confidently expected to obtain important evidence from La Rue during the interval of freedom which he believed would intervene between the release from prison and the departure for Martinique,[65] this decision greatly an-

[61] Et li (i.e., il Rè) pareva che per far la cosa come doveva andar fatta bisognasse che la Rue et Gentilly passassero a vivere in America; acciò che se ella (la Granduchessa) voleva che vi andasse quel primo vedesse ancora che colà se li mandava parimente quell' altro con questa differenza però, che dal detto la Rue si haverebbe la libertà di starvi o tornarsene a suo beneplacito, mentre S.M^{tà} non si ingerirebbe della di lui concernenza; et al prefato Gentilly si darebbe un ordine di non dover rimetter mai più il piede in francia sotto pena della forca (*4769, 4782;* March 7).

[62] Circa l'affare della Rue non posso dir altro . . . se non che egli e tuttavia in S. Lazero et la Gran Duchessa li fa apparecchiare tutte le cose necessarie per il suo viaggio, et le fa mettere in un coffano che ha mandato in Casa del Conte di S. Mesme; et Mons^{r} d'Estampes e quello che prepara tutto; et io non dubito che lo terrà rinchiuso ove e, sinche non venga il tempo di dover partire (*ibid.*, March 14).

[63] Quanto al la Rue egli e tuttavia in S. Lazero, et forse nella prima settimana del prossimo mese dovrà partire. La Gran Duchessa li ha fatto scrivere da Mons^{r} d'Estampes intimandoli che si disponga al viaggio facendoli perciò preparare il suo bagaglio in cui fa mettere tutti i di lui libbri, abiti et quanto ha, volendo che detto suo bagaglio parta avanti di esso, accio che il dubbio di non perdere la sua robba habbia ad impedirli la risoluzione a cui potesse essersi internamente appigliato di volersi salvare et fuggire quando sia fuori di S. Lazero (*ibid.*, March 28).

[64] Sapevo pur anco che per assicurarsi che egli non se ne andasse altrove, lo farebbe S.A. partire da quel luogo senza fermarsi punto in questa Citta (*ibid.*).

[65] Et in proposito del la Rue non insistei ne anche con le mie risposte a S. Eccl^{za} acciò che sia rimesso in liberta per ordine regio; perche se l$_a$ M^{tà} Sua lascia correr tal' cosa et non se ne intriga non dubito che quando sarà fuori di S. Lazero, sarà per burlarsi della Gran Duchessa et andra dove piu li piacera fuori di francia, non desperando in tal caso di haver modo di poterli parlare (*ibid.*, February 28, 1681).

See also the following to Panciatichi in the letter of March 7 (*ibid.*):

Et circa detto La Rue, quando egli escirà di S. Lazero, vedrò di sapere si voglia ò non voglia veramente passarsene in America; et procurerò di ricavare da lui tutti quei lumi che potrò.

noyed him, and he protested vigorously to Croissy against such arbitrary violence on the part of the Grand Duchess, and also demanded the arrest of Chantilly.[66] When these protests, as he must have foreseen, produced no result, and he learned that La Rue was soon to sail from Dieppe in charge of the sister-in-law of Monsieur François, who was going out to join her husband at Martinique, he devised a scheme by which he might render futile all the precautions for preventing any communication with La Rue in Paris.[67]

The Grand Duchess had in fact at last arranged everything to her satisfaction, and early on Sunday, April 13, 1681, La Rue, whose confinement had been prolonged to five months, left Saint-Lazare for Rouen on his way to Dieppe with four other members of the party. Estampes accompanied him from the prison to the coach and remained with him until it started, while to make escape impossible, he was deprived of all his money.[68] The same morning a letter from Cintia

[66] Non venendo ancora a maturazione la buona speranza data per l'allontanamento di Gentilly . . . io non lascio di premerne sempre discretamente l'effetto, accio che non habbia la negligenza dal conto mio a causar raffreddamento nella mente del Re sopra un affare si delicato. A tal oggetto ne ripresi il ragionamento Martedi (April 8) a San Germano con Croissy, introducendomi con S. Ecclza in questa materia con il rappresentarli che non passerabbero ancora otto giorni che la concernenza del la Rue sarebbe finita, perche gia disposto il di lui bagaglio si preparavano le cose per la partenza di esso, havendo Monsr françois directeur dell' India (*4782, des Indes*) fatto sapere alla Gran Duchessa che l'occasione era pronta, onde mi imaginavo che quando sarei di nuovo la settimana ventura dall' Ecclza Sua, potei portarli l'avviso dell' essersi egli incamminato alla volta del Mare, verso dove assicuararsi che vadia et che non parli ad alcuno in questa Città stava per gia presa la deliberazione che da S. Lazero deva senza fermarsi condursi alla carrozza, et partire. Pregavo per tanto S. Ecclza di rifletter se dovesse essere tollerato alla Gran Duchessa l'operare con tal' violenze et prevalersi di un tale arbitrio, mentre un contegno di simil' natura pur troppo mostrava che ella cercasse di ascondere qual' cosa di cui ogni giustizia vorrebbe che ne rendesse conto . . . Per lo che se ella doppo haver tenuto cinque mesi racchiuso per suo capriccio uno che non dubito che sia innocente lo mandava in America senza che S.Mta habbia voluto opponersi giudicando opportuno il mostrare di non ingerirsene, dovesse adesso la Mata Sua fare sparire il detto Gentilli et mandarvelo parimente col farli vietare di non poter ritornare mai in francia (*ibid.*, April 11, 1681).

[67] At the end of the same letter of April 11 Gondi gives details reported by the Comte de Sainte-Mesme:

Egli pure mi ha adesso avvisato che in un giorno della prossima settimana la Rue partirà senza dover vedere alcuno. Et Monsr d'Estampes lo condurrà alla carrozza di Rouen per di colà transferirsi a Dieppe all' imbarco insieme con la cognata di Monsr françois et sua famiglia, che va à trovar il fratello di questo et di lei marito che se ne stà alla Martinique. Sto per tanto rintracciando adesso il giorno preciso della partenza di esso. Et manderò sino a detta Citta un mio confidente, et chi sarà sconosciuto per veder di parlare a detto la Rue et informarsi da esso della verita di tale intrigo.

[68] Con un viglietto della Cintia fui da lei avvertito Domenica che iermattina doveva la Rue partire per Rouen con l'accompagnamento di quattro persone che passano in America. Dal Conte di Ste. Mesme ricevei parimente il medesimo avviso, portatomi da lui à bocca dicendomi di più che la Gran Duchessa non li haveva voluto consentire (*4782*, accernerare) alcune delle sue domande; che Monsr françois li ha promesso un impiego che li renderà 500 franchi l'anno; che Monsr d'Estampes lo condurrebbe alla carrozza per non lasciarlo sin che non fusse partito; et che oltre l'haver fatto andare avanti il di lui bagaglio haveva pure la Gran Duchessa ordinato che non havesse sopra di lui alcun denaro come e seguito per levarli il modo di poter scappare (*4769, 4782;* Monday, April 14).

For the "domande" of La Rue see his reply to the letter of Estampes quoted above, note 63:

Prega in essa sua risposta la prefata Serma a volerli augmentare quello che ha promesso di darli affinche possa vivere in quel paese con comodita.

brought the news to Gondi. He at once acted with his usual energy. He wrote Croissy asking him to inform the king and to remind him of his decision to remove Chantilly in accordance with the request of the Grand Duke.[69] Furthermore he sent in disguise to Rouen his trusted private secretary, Domenico Zipoli,[70] with orders to stop at all the halts of the coach on the way, to make the acquaintance of the party, and to obtain, if possible, the long-sought statement from La Rue.[71] This device was certainly not foreseen by Marguerite, who, apparently ignorant of Gondi's thirst for information, seems to have been anxious only to keep La Rue from meeting any of his friends or fellow-servants, and naturally felt that once out of Paris a strict guard was no longer necessary.

It thus happened that Zipoli succeeded in accomplishing far more than could have been reasonably anticipated and, since his disguise effectually concealed his identity, without any danger that some hint of his mission might reach the Grand Duchess from other members of the party. Not only was he able to talk freely with La Rue, but through his assurances of protection by the Grand Duke he induced him to draw up a long statement in his own hand, duly attested by the certificate of a notary, who also signed each page, but without reading it, thus preserving the necessary secrecy of the contents.[72] As a reward for this deposi-

Cintia's letter, addressed "Pour Monsieur Zipoli," and dated "Sabato sera (i.e., April 12), is in *4782* with the above letter of April 14. La Rue's fellow-travellers were almost certainly members of the party of Madame Du Casse, the sister-in-law of Monsieur François, who seems to have assumed some responsibility for the safe arrival of La Rue in Martinique (letter of May 16). At the same time it is certain that he was not under strict guard, and that he was not accompanied by Estampes, for Sainte-Mesme told Gondi "che Monsr d'Estampes non se ne andò se non doppo la carrozza fù partita" (letter of April 14).

[69] Copies of this letter are in the letter of April 13 in *4769* and *4782*, addressed "A Monsr di Croissy Ministro et Segrio di Stato di Sua Maestà. San Germano li 13 Aprile 1681. Di Parigi."

[70] See above, note 67. Gondi does not mention Zipoli by name in his letters from Paris, but that he was the messenger is clear from the letters of La Rue to him; e.g., "spero nella vostra amicitia la quale voi mi havete promessa quando ci separammo a Rouen" (*4791*, letter from Martinique, January 23, 1682), and "après les promesses authentiques que vous mavez faites de sa (Gondi) part" (*ibid.*, letter from Martinique, January 30, 1683), and from the letter of Gondi (*1610*, October 8, 1683), writing about the Grand Duchess to Panciatichi after his return to Florence: "ella fece il possible per verificare l'indizio che ebbe che da me li (i.e., La Rue) fusse mandato à parlare il detto Zipoli à Rouen."

[71] Persapere dunque, se sarà possibile, da detto la Rue il fondo di questo intrigo, feci partire ieri (Sunday) mattina di qua una persona di mia confidenza che si troverà per tutti i luoghi ove quella carrozza si ferma et a pranzo et a cena sina Rouen (*4769, 4782;* April 14, 1681).

This plan was highly approved by Panciatichi, but with some doubt as to its success:

Ha fatto bene a mandare anticipatamente persona sua confidente alle posate che per il viaggio doverà far la Rue, per tentare se sarà possibile di esaminarlo et di trovare il fondo di questi intrighi; ma pare da credersi, che chi hà usara tanta diligenza per impedire che non parli ad alcuno prima della partenza, lo farà tenere anche per la strada assediato. Tutta volta udiremo quel che sarà seguito (*ibid.;* May 3, 1681).

[72] Gondi's letter of April 21, 1681 (*ibid.*) is devoted to Zipoli's success:

Ritornò la persona che io mandai sino à Rouën, et con grandissima industria hà esseguito la com-

tion, which contained important evidence against both the Grand Duchess and Chantilly, La Rue received in Gondi's name something over 20 louis d'or, with part of which he bought a spinet, cup, fork, and silver spoon.[73] This wholly unexpected aid and the assurance which it afforded of the interest of the Grand Duke and Gondi brought new hope to La Rue, who had believed himself friendless and abandoned by all the world, and[74] in a letter assuring Gondi of his heartfelt gratitude, he entreated him to continue this aid and protection, which were

missione da me datali, perche non solo ha egli esaminato la Rue, mà hà fatto mettere in scritto di mano di lui la sua deposizione, conforme si era da me bramato per ogni buon governo et per tutto quel che potesse occorrere, et della qual scrittura ne mando la copia qui aggiunta, et hà inoltre saputo superare l'altra difficultà insorta nel fare autenticare la mano di esso da quella di un Notaio senza che questo nè alcun' altro la dovesse leggere . . . avendo insinuato l'espediente che Mons^r Musnier persona di mia conoscenza ponesse per tal riguardo come hà fatto il suo nome ad ogni faccia della scrittura et alla fine della medesima. . . . Ne mancavavi pur anco l'altra difficulta a superare di non essere conosciuto da chi lo conduce alla Martinique affinche la Gran Duchessa non possa haverne per alcun verso sentore veruno. Ma con l'industria et con l'essere andato in posta travestito et sotto abito finto ha potuto haver seco i necessarij colloquij et indurlo a metter la mano alla penna, cosa che non havrebbe fatto a persuasione di qual si sia altra persona, per dubbio di non far qualche passo per attirarsi la collera della Gran Duchessa, non sapendo se potrebbe sperare di essere sostenuto dal Gran Duca. . . . Non tacero già che egli merita compassione et di riscontrare qualche benigno riguardo nella mente di Gran Duca, perche egli e innocente di tutto. . . . Insomma la relazione datamene dalla persona da me mandata mi rende persuasissimo (*4782, persuaso assaissimo*) che in tutto hà egli buon' discernimento et che è degno di non esser abbandonato, et certamente con il benefizio del tempo si fara senza dubbio huomo di garbo.

In *4769* with the above letter are a copy of La Rue's deposition and both original and copy of the notary's certificate; the original deposition in La Rue's handwriting is in the third letter of May 9 (*4769, 4782*). The Notary's certificate shows that the deposition was made by "Le Sieur Rene de La Rue" on Tuesday afternoon, April 15, 1681. In *4782* with Gondi's draft of the letter of April 21 are another copy of the deposition and certificate (evidently kept by Gondi for reference), and also a shorter version of the deposition in La Rue's hand. It would seem to be a first draft prepared for Zipoli by La Rue, and afterwards revised and enlarged for attestation by the notary. It agrees in substance with the later version, though there are considerable differences in form and some omissions. Rodocanachi (Chapter XII) prints in full the deposition and the Notary's certificate from the copy sent to Florence. Baccini (pp. 129–133) prints an Italian translation of the opening of the deposition and summarizes the rest with no indication that the original is in French.

[73] *4769, 4782;* April 21:

Per segno dell' aggradimento dell'haver egli svelatamente dette et porte in carta le concernenze sue ha havuto in mio nome per il valore di poco più di venti luigi d'oro, che hanno servito a comprarli una spinetta, una tazza, una forchetta, et un cucchiaio d'argento, et il resto in contante, non havendo egli provedimento di cosa veruna; onde come non sperava di dover vedere alcuno, et di essere derelitto da tutti, cosi li è parso che Dio benedetto li habbia mandato a tempo questo soccorso.

The purchase of the spinnet suggests that La Rue hoped to find some opportunities to practise his profession in Martinique.

[74] Gondi's efforts to free him were certainly not known to La Rue. In the postscript to his letter of February 28 Gondi writes:

Doppo che questa materia si e riscaldata, il laico non si vuole ne anche più incaricare ne di portare viglietti ne di portar nemeno veruna ambasciata; onde non ho potuto farli mai sapere che Mons di Croisy havesse commesso a Mons Joly, che se egli gli attestava di bramare di andarsene che lo lasciasse sortire.

his only resource if his present venture failed.[75] To Zipoli, on whose friendship he henceforth relied, he confided his hopes and fears for the future. His chief anxiety was for his sister, who was young and pretty, and he begged that, if the Grand Duchess did not, as had been agreed, provide for her marriage, she might be sent back to her father at Angers. For himself, if he did not succeed in Martinique, he intended to return to Rome or Venice, and in that case asked for such help as might secure him some employment in which with the aid of his music he could live honorably. Zipoli, after explaining that he must on no account enter Tuscany — a prohibition which La Rue readily understood and accepted,[76] — assured him of Gondi's support, and apparently proposed that he should even now abandon his projected voyage,[77] and go at once to Italy. This offer was declined by La Rue, who may well have preferred the certainty, as he supposed, of employment at Martinique to reliance on the somewhat variable favor of the Grand Duke, and moreover must have known that acceptance would destroy all

[75] See below, Appendix III, Letter 1. The date of this letter from Rouen, "Jeudi, 15 d'avril" is certainly wrong, for Thursday was the seventeenth. Zipoli and La Rue left Paris early on Sunday, April 13, and since at that time it took two days even for post horses to go from Paris to Rouen (A. Babeau, *Les voyageurs en France depuis la Renaissance jusqu'à la Révolution,* Paris: 1885, p. 13), they were in Rouen by Tuesday, April 15, when La Rue's deposition was attested by the notary. It is clear that Zipoli did not return at once, for in his letter of Friday, April 18 (*4769, 4782*), Gondi writes, "Dovrebbe domani esser qui di ritorno da Rouen la persona da me mandata per esaminare la Rue." It seems probable that Zipoli remained in Rouen until Friday, that La Rue wrote his letter on Thursday evening, and also left on Friday for Dieppe, whence he wrote a second letter to Gondi on April 20 (see below, Appendix III, Letter 2). His first letter bears no address and was very probably brought to Gondi by Zipoli. In his letter of April 21 Gondi continues after the passage cited above (note 72): "Egli me ne ha con sua lettera ringraziato con espressioni vivissime; et io nel risponderli, ma però in termini generali et senza nominar la causa ne le persone, l'ho accertato che si havrà cura di lui, ratificandoli quanto haveva udito in voce dalla persona che li haveva parlato."

[76] *Ibid.:* E stato esso la Rue qualche tempo determinato di non volere in modo alcuno andare in quell' Isola adiacente all' America, ma vi si e poi risoluto da se medesimo per il solo riguardo di vedere se con tale obbedienza alla Gran Duchessa, ella vorrà effettuare la speranza datali di maritare la di lui sorella che non li può constaré se non cento Doble, et intanto vedere se colà possa trovare di che vivere. Mà quando non ne conseguisca l'intento pensa di voler tornarsene per condursi ò à Venezia ò à Roma. Et in tal caso mi ha richiesto di protezione a fine di trovar colà qualche impiego con cui et con la musica possa vivere da huomo onorato; et circa la sorella che esso ama teneramente mi ha parimente pregato di volerla rimandare à suo Padre à Angers quando la Gran Duchessa non la mariti standoli grandemente a cuore che come ella è bella et giovane non habbia a capitar male in caso che la prefata Ser^{ma} non voglia adempire la data speranza. . . . Et circa il non dover egli andare a firenze, vi si è subito accomodato, et ne ha comprese de se stesso benissimo le ragioni, onde inciò terrà sempre le sua parola.

[77] Gondi says nothing about this proposition, but it is mentioned by Zipoli (*4791*, letter to Gondi, August 2, 1684) at a time when La Rue, believing himself abandoned in Venice, was talking of a return to Montmartre and a possible reconciliation with the Grand Duchess, a prospect that much alarmed Zipoli: "e si vede dalla sua (La Rue's) lettera, che ha vuolsuto servirsi della pessima strada di tenere il piede in due staffe; perchè da quanto ha mandato a V.S.Ill^{ma} sono venuto in cognizione, perchè vuolse andare a Martinique, e non altrove come li fù proposto a Rouen; e non fece motto di questo li fù dichiarato dalla Gran Duchessa." La Rue may allude to his refusal of this offer in his first letter to Gondi.

hope of his sister's marriage, even if she suffered nothing further from the anger of the Grand Duchess.

The few days passed at Rouen[78] with La Rue sufficed to gain the sympathy and good-will of Zipoli, whose favorable report strongly influenced Gondi. Hitherto he had shown little interest in La Rue personally, evidently regarding him merely as a new weapon against the Grand Duchess, for although he incessantly denounced the injustice of his imprisonment and demanded his immediate release, this was certainly less for the sake of the prisoner than because only thus could his testimony against Chantilly be obtained. A new tone appears in the letter describing Zipoli's success. Gondi is now interested in La Rue's future; he is an innocent victim of caprice and malice, wholly worthy of the benevolence and pity of the Grand Duke; it will be merely justice to help and protect him should he return from Martinique, and to send back his sister to her father, should she remain unmarried.[79] In short Zipoli's story had convinced Gondi that La Rue would prove a credit to his patrons, and he promptly wrote him, confirming the promises made by Zipoli in his name, although he was careful to employ none but general terms, which would not betray him if the letter fell into unfriendly hands.[80]

The week of Zipoli's absence had brought only disappointment to Gondi. First he learned from Croissy that the king had decided to postpone the arrest of Chantilly until he saw how the Grand Duchess conducted herself.[81] The next day

[78] See *ibid.*, above, note 75.

[79] Gondi, *4769, 4782,* April 21, 1681:

Io reputo atto di giustizia che egli deva essere aiutato et protetto nel suddetto caso dal ritorno; et il far rimandare a suo Padre la di lui sorella se non sarà maritata.

[80] The letter describing Zipoli's success was much appreciated at Florence, as is clear from Panciatichi's reply, dated May 10, 1681 (*ibid.*):

La Persona spedita da V.S.Ill^ma^ à trovare la Rue hà saputo molto ben' maneggiarsi per parlarli senza essere osservato et per indurlo a metter in carta i particolari contenuti nella scrittura che V.S.Ill^ma^ mi hà transmesso; et S.A. ha approvato il soccorso fatto fare da lei al detto la Rue in robba et denaro; et quando egli si risolva à venire in Italia, sarà aiutato à trovar qualche impiego. In tanto concorre il Gran Duca che V.Ill^ma^, potendo correre la di lui sorella qualche pericolo, la rimandi prontamente al Padre, perchè stia sotto la custodia di esso, et se doppo qualche tempo la Gran Duchessa non si risolverà à maritarla, si contenta il Gran Duca di somministrare le cento Doppie, perchè resti accomodata et non habbia à correr' pericolo di capitar male; et pensa che sarà meglio che ciò segua al suo Paese; mà non intende che si sborsi il denaro se non quando effettivamente si mariti; et mi ordina di avvertir V.Ill^ma^ che in ciò proceda con tale circospezione che la Gran Duchessa non habbia a penetrarlo. Potrà bene scriverlo à la Rue perche stia quieto et perche ne prende motivo di aprirsi con tutta candidezza, se altro habbia da poter' participare circa gl'andamenti della Gran Duchessa non tanto con Gentilly quanto circa alle bassezze che fusse à sua notizia haver commesso con altri; et circa ogni altra sua concernenza.

[81] The interview was on Tuesday, April 15, after the king had heard Gondi's note to Croissy announcing the departure of La Rue. Croissy told him:

Che S.M.t^a^ temendo sempre il romore et i fastidij che poteva apportare una simile resoluzione (i.e., to send away Chantilly) stimava a proposito di differirla ancora, et intanto andare vedendo quali addesso fussero per essere i di lei portamenti col prefato Gentilly. . . . Non mi (i.e., Gondi) giunse nuova questa dichiarazione ben preveduta da me, conforme accennai con le mie precedenti, non potendosi

on visiting Montmartre he found Chantilly already installed in La Rue's place and about to accompany the Grand Duchess on a trip to Abbeville with her sister, the Duchess of Guise.[82] Finally he was told by the Abbess that recently the king had recounted the whole story of La Rue and Chantilly to Madame de Montespan and two other ladies, "pigliando di ciò motivo di ridersene et burlare," adding in reply to a remark on the vagaries of Marguerite and her sister, "che toccava a loro a pensarvi et a far quel' che volevano, non potendo Sua Maestà parte nelle sciocchezze et debolezze di dette due cugine." From this revelation of the king's real attitude Gondi regretfully concluded that there was little chance of obtaining satisfaction.[83]

Zipoli's return with La Rue's deposition encouraged him to further effort, for here at last was conclusive proof of the justice of his demands. He, therefore, without delay handed a copy to Croissy for the king and repeated his arguments for immediate action against Chantilly.[84] The reply, which he received a week later, must have extinguished any real hope of ultimate success. Croissy had reported fully all Gondi's arguments and had read La Rue's testimony to the king, who had only shrugged his shoulders and said that the conduct of the Grand Duchess was very bad.[85] This result convinced Gondi that it was useless to expect Louis to condemn in others those faults to which he was himself inclined.[86] Nevertheless he did not at once relax his efforts, but his repeated and vigorous remonstrances to Croissy brought no reply from the king, and his hopes grew steadily less,[87] though it was not until August 8 that he finally reported to Flor-

aspettar altro dalla cognita debolezza di S.M.tà in queste materie, onde fui sul punto di riscaldarmi un poco sopra di ciò con S. Ecclza (*4769, 4782;* April 18, 1681).

[82] "La Gran Duchessa parte Giovedi (April 24) con Mada di Guisa per Abbeville" (*ibid.*, April 21, *ad fin.*).

[83] *4769, 4782;* letter of April 18. Baccini (p. 143 [77]) quotes with minor differences the text of this letter, but dates it August 10, 1681. There is no letter bearing that date in *4769.*

[84] The letter of April 25, eight folio pages in length, is almost wholly given up to these arguments, which differ but little in substance from those which Gondi had been urging on Croissy weekly for the last five months.

[85] [Croissy] mi disse di aver non solo reso conto al Re di quanto io li avevo significato senza preterirne parte veruna, ma che aveva pur anco letta alla M. S. la scrittura che mi haveva domandata e che S. Mtà al racconto di tutto si era ristretta nelle spalle et haveva detto che cattivissima fusse la condotta della Gran Duchessa, ne si fusse S.Mtà spiegata in altro (*4769, 4782;* May 2).

[86] Ma rimango sempre più scandalezzato del procedere di S.Mtà, in cui non si può mai far fundamento veruno, se bene dall' altro canto non me ne maraviglio essendo persuaso che e vanita l'attendere che S.Mtà condanni in altri quei difetti che ha in se medesimo, onde per ciò non li disapproverà internamente negl' altri (*ibid.*).

The reasons already persistently alleged (see below, note 87) for the policy of Louis in regard to Marguerite appear so sufficient that one is disposed to question Gondi's opinion here.

[87] On June 13 (*4769, 4782*) he wrote, "Onde svaniscano le speranze che chiare et precise furono date per l'opportuno rimedio," and on June 30, he reported a reply of the king to the Abbess of Montmartre, who had urged him to interfere as the conduct of the Grand Duchess was causing scandal at the convent:

Rispose S.Mtà alla Badessa, che di già haveva lume di tutto, mentre ad ogni poco per mezzo mio ne

ence his conviction that his majesty would never interfere with the Grand Duchess; and in fact Chantilly long continued to occupy his favored position among her servants.[88]

While Zipoli was on his way to Paris, La Rue and his companions continued their journey, and on April 20 La Rue wrote Gondi from Dieppe his second letter, full of gratitude and promises of devotion to his service.[89] The travellers had expected to sail soon after their arrival,[90] but the ship was not ready, and the delay nearly involved La Rue in a fresh disaster, for on May 5, the eve of their departure, Marguerite and her sister arrived in Dieppe from Abbeville on their way to Rouen.[91] La Rue saw the Grand Duchess pass in her carriage, and unfortunately was himself seen by Estampes, who at once reported his presence. Thereupon Marguerite, doubtless supposing that the ship had sailed on the appointed day and that La Rue had broken his promise to go abroad, ordered his arrest, and applied to the commander of the citadel to receive him as a prisoner. As the officer hesitated and La Rue declared that he would fight to the death rather than submit, she was finally persuaded to abandon this plan by the intercession of the Countess of Ste.-Mesme and by a promise of Madame Du Casse that La Rue should remain in retirement until Marguerite left Dieppe. It indeed seems to have been designed chiefly to keep La Rue from conversation with his former friends, inasmuch as the household of the Duchess of Guise had come to the inn where he was staying and had greeted him warmly.[92]

era stato informato, ma che non intendeva di ingerisi in cosa alcuna attenente a essa, poiche conoscendo il suo umore non voleva essere ad ogni momento inquietata da Lei non solo, ne dà altri ancora per causa sua . . . volendo la Mtà Sua toglere di mezzo tutte le occasioni ad essere per causa veruna importunata dalla Gran Duchessa mentre non intende ingerirsi nelle cose sue, ne in bene, ne in male, et però non darà mai mano ad alcuna innovazione. See above, note 46.

[88] I have found no record of the dismissal or death of Chantilly, and he is often mentioned by Zipoli as in high favor. After he was promoted to La Rue's position Marguerite required him to resume his family name of *Angost*, as appears from a letter of Gondi written on May 9, 1681 (*4769, 4782*):

Non ho da dir altro circa le concernenze del la Rue et di Gentilli (*4782, Chantilly*) che da qui avanti chiamaro Angost . . . avendoli la Gran Duchessa fatto mutare il vecchio nome et prendere quello della di lui famiglia doppo che è Valletto di Camera. This letter has been overlooked by those who have taken the groom, Angost, or Angôt, for a rival or successor to Chantilly in the favor of the Grand Duchess. See Rodocanachi, pp. 372–374; Baccini, pp. 88, 151.

[89] The date and contents show that he had not received Gondi's letter, which indeed can hardly have been written before the twentieth, since Zipoli did not return to Paris until the nineteenth.

[90] *4782*, La Rue to Zipoli, May 5: "doviamo partire quindeci giorni fa."

[91] It is of course obvious that this visit to Dieppe had originally nothing to do with La Rue; the meeting with him was purely fortuitous. See above, note 82. "Nel prossimo suo viaggio d'Abbeville, Dieppe et Rouen, ove la Gran Duchessa lascerà Madma di Guisa che se ne va à Alençon per ritornarsene ella qua à Montmartre" (*4769, 4782;* April 18).

[92] A vivid description of the first part of this episode was sent to Zipoli that very evening by a much excited and greatly enraged La Rue (see below, Appendix III, Letter 3), who was by no means certain of the outcome, while the peaceable conclusion is told in a letter of Gondi, written

At last on Wednesday, May 7, La Rue left Dieppe for Martinique. The voyage was long, lasting forty-five days, instead of the thirty-six promised by the captain, and marked by much discomfort and no little danger, for the ship was small — of only 60 tons — and had not been properly conditioned during her stay in port.[93] Nor did the arrival in Martinique bring any satisfaction to La Rue. Monsieur Du Casse had heard nothing from Monsieur François, had no present need for a clerk, nor did it seem likely that his business would make one necessary in the future. In fact he showed La Rue scant courtesy, but consented to write to his brother and find out how far he was committed to the Grand Duchess. In the meantime La Rue was left to shift for himself, and as he obviously could not make a living from his music in Martinique, his thoughts naturally turned toward Italy. To Zipoli, whom he regarded after the meeting in Rouen as his special friend, he wrote an account of his discouraging reception and unhappy situation, and at the same time sent a short letter to Gondi, begging for the continuance of his protection and for permission to try his fortune as a musician in Italy. This letter, dated July 4, 1681, was followed by a second of similar tenor on July 28.[94]

Long before these letters reached Paris Gondi, incited by the satisfaction which Zipoli's success had caused at Florence,[95] and doubtless piqued by his own failure to secure the removal of Chantilly, had determined to inform La Rue of the good-will of the Grand Duke and his offer to supply the dowry for La Rue's

on May 16, after the return of the Grand Duchess to Montmartre, and devoted in great part to her misconduct on her trip (Baccini, pp. 135–137 [73–74]).

La Contessa di Ste Mesme . . . mi ha detto ancora circa la Rue che la Gran Duchessa voleva farlo carcerare accusandolo di ladro, et già il Maggiore della Cittadella si era deliberato di riceverlo prigione ma le persuasioni della Contessa di Ste Mesme ne la distolsero contentandosi della parola di Madama du Casse che lo conduce nella Martinique, et che assicurò S. Altza che lo terrebbe come segui, in Casa durante il tempo che S. A. vi starebbe, et che sarebbe andato la sera à dormire à bordo, particolarità di cui hò pure informato S. Ecclza (Croissy), à cui parimente non ho taciuto quanto dal medesimo la Rue fù scritto per farmi sapere sopra tal incidte avendo percio meco la lettera (see below, Appendix III, Letter 3) di cui ne hò gia mandata a V.S.Illma la copia (*4782;* in *4769* the above is not wholly deciphered).

[93] The account of the voyage was given by La Rue in his description of Martinique. See below, §II.

[94] See below, Letters 4, 5. La Rue also sent Zipoli a parrot, which apparently never arrived (Letter 6; cf. Letter 8). The letter to Zipoli has not been preserved, but a brief summary is given in Gondi's letter of October 17 (*4769, 4782*):

Ho ricevute due lettere del la Rue, scrittemi dalla Martinique, et delle quali ne mando le copie nell agiunto foglio. Al Zipoli come suo Amico hà egli scritto che Monsù Casse à cui era directo non haveva notizia alcuna del fatto, et si meravigliò che Monsù françois direttore della Compagnia delle Indie, si fusse impegnato con la Gran Duchessa à darli un luogo di Commesso appresso di lui, quando non ne hà di bisogno, et che disse non comportar la sua carica li haver spesa di tener Commessi. Li significà dunque, che non vi fusse impiego per lui. Et li fece poche cortesie dicendo solamente che scriverebbe per sapere dà esso Monsù françois come dovesse contenersi, et in quale impegno fusse con la Gran Duchessa; ma intanto si trovò La Rue constretto à procurer di vivere come potrebbe.

[95] See above, note 74.

sister, if Marguerite failed to fulfill her promise, and to suggest that in return he should furnish more information about such misconduct of the Grand Duchess as had come to his notice. To keep this correspondence from the knowledge of Monsieur François, who might inform the Grand Duchess,[96] he decided to send his letter to Rouen, whence a trusty messenger could carry it to Dieppe and smuggle it on board ship; and he readily obtained from Florence the authority to pay the 12 "dobbie" needed to secure secrecy.[97] Apparently the expected opportunity did not arrive during the summer, for when Gondi about the middle of October received La Rue's letters his own was still unwritten. But he at once replied that La Rue might return to practice his profession in Rome or Venice.[98] When he informed Panciatichi of this action, he speedily learned that the Grand Duke had changed his mind since May and now thought it best for many reasons to keep La Rue at a distance for as long a time as possible. He was therefore instructed to postpone his answers to La Rue's letters and to advise him to delay his return.[99] In case La Rue should arrive unexpectedly, he would be helped to

[96] Probably the letters for La Rue would be sent to Du Casse and thus might pass through the hands of François.

[97] Gondi's intentions were first set forth in his letter of May 30, 1681 (*4769, 4782*):

Per farli (La Rue) poi sapere i benigni sentimenti del Gran Duca verso di lui et la protezzione con che S.A. intende di onorarlo io attendo il tempo della prima imbarcazione che si farà a quella volta, perche li scrivero havendone il modo con farli sicuramente capitare le mie lettere. Et li daro parte della risoluzione presa parimente da S.A. di voler somministrare del proprio danaro sino alla concorrenza di cento doble per maritar la di lui sorella nel caso però che la Gran Duchessa doppo qualche tempo non si determini a maritarla ne lascero di rappresentarli tali beneficenze di S.A. con argomenti et insinuazioni tali onde deva aprirsi con intiera candidezza, se altro habbia da potere partecipare non tanto circa gli andamenti della Gran Duchessa con Gentilli quanto circa altre bassezze che fusse a sua notizia haver ella commesso con altri. . . . Per fare poi, che le mie lettere camminino con sicurezza, et siano a Dieppe consegnate su le navi che partiranno senza che habbino à passare per le mani di Monsieur François direttore della Compagnia dell' Indie, con cui la Gran Duchessa tiene corrispondenza a fine di accertarmi che ella per tal mezzo non ne habbia cognizione, io ho un modo sicuro per cui sempre da Rouen ove le indirizzero ad un mio corrispondente saranno portate a Dieppe da un Messagiero fidato, à cura di cui sarà il portarle in tasca et darle sù la nave senza che passino per altre mani, ma se cosi approverà l' A.S. bisognerebbe darli adesso dodici doble per comprare tal sicurezza secondo l'offerta, che me ne vien fatta.

Gondi's plan was approved at Florence, and he was authorized to pay the 12 "doble" to the messenger (*ibid.*, Panciatichi, June 21, 1681).

[98] The letter of October 17 (above, note 94) continues:

Li farò rispondere in conformità delli ordini di S.A. . . . et adempirò adesso tal' parte perche sò che a havre de grace sta pronto un Vassello per partire per quella volta, et in seguela delli ordini suddetti bisognerà darli l'adito à tornare in qua per passarsene come egli brama à vivere à Roma o à Venezia, esercitando la sua professione di Musica.

The "ordini" mentioned above are evidently those of May 10, to which Gondi refers in a letter (*ibid.*) of November 28 to Panciatichi ("in essecuzione di quanto ella mi ordinò con la sua in proprio de' dieci di Maggio cio è che quando egli si risolvesse di passare in Italia . . . gia gli ho fatto scrivere" etc.).

[99] Devo accusare la di V.S.Ill^ma^ de' 17 del passato, che accompagna le copie di quelle scritteli da la Rue. Et para, che ella potrebbe andar temporeggiando in darli risposta, poiche sempre tornerà meglio che il medesimo la Rue stia lontano per molti rispetti (*ibid.*, Panciatichi, November 8, 1681).

find employment in Rome or Venice, but he must never set foot in Tuscany.[100]

Gondi was probably quite content with this decision, for his own position in Paris had become increasingly difficult, not to say dangerous. Outwardly he was still on good terms with the Grand Duchess, but he knew that she had grown very distrustful of him and his household.[101] Indeed she told him herself, although without making any charges against him, that she was aware of being watched and would take vengeance upon whoever betrayed her to the Grand Duke.[102] This warning thoroughly alarmed him. He arranged elaborate precautions for his safety whenever he had occasion to go to Montmartre,[103] and ceased to send to Florence long accounts of Marguerite's alleged misconduct, even declaring that she was now giving little ground for scandal.[104] His recall in March, 1682, however, was certainly not due to the displeasure of the Grand Duke, for on his return to Florence he was made Segretario di Stato[105] and apparently given

[100] *Ibid.*, Panciatichi, December 20:

Quando giungano le lettere di V.S. Ill^{ma} alla Rue, et che egli si prenda da esse motivo di ricondursi costi converrà aiutarlo à trovarli impiego ò in Venezia ò in Roma, conforme si gl' è data intenzione, ma se ò non gli capitano le preaccennate lettere di V.S. Ill^{ma}, ò se egli fà qualche replica che porga adito ad esortarlo à temporeggiare sarà opportuno l'andarvelo disponendo poiche il suo ritorno et particolarmente cosi presto non pare che possa partorire buoni effetti conforme le hò già scritto; et in tutti i casi è necessaria tener fermo, che egli non metta mai piede in Toscana.

[101] *Ibid.*, June 20, 1681:

La Granduchessa parlò ieri a essa Madama di Montmartre con gran calore contro di me, et contro la Gente di Casa mia, e contro la Cintia et si spiegò seco che . . . se arrivasse à confermare la verità di qualche ricerca, farebbe conoscere al Mondo con le risoluzioni, che piglierebbe, che cosa voglia dire l'andare rintracciando i suoi andimenti.

[102] *Ibid.*, June 30, 1681. This letter of 14½ pages is almost wholly taken up with the suspicions of the Grand Duchess. About this time she dismissed two of her maids, one of whom, Mademoiselle Charenton, had been in her employ — and also in Cosimo's pay — even before she left Florence. Cf. Baccini, p. 142 [76].

[103] In Gondi's letter of July 11 (*ibid.*) he says that the Grand Duchess has resumed her friendly tone toward him, but on August 1 he explains that he has had new locks put in his house to protect his papers and is taking special care to guard against falling into an ambush between Paris and Montmartre. On November 14 he writes:

La Granduchessa havendo sempre à cuore di poter sapere chi è la persona che andò à parlare à Monsù Joly quando la Rue era rinchiuso in S. Lazaro sotto la di lui custodia, vi si è adesso transferita di nuovo, mà sin ad ora egli non le hà risposto adequamente sopra di ciò, et ella fà tali passi perche vorebbe sapere se per ordine mio fusse quella una persona, che vi si conducesse; ma non ne potra mai venire à capo.

[104] See *ibid.*, letters of August 1 and November 21. This reform may have been due to the message from the king brought by the Abbess of Montmartre (see above, note 46), but it is also possible that Gondi, in view of Marguerite's suspicions, thought it prudent not to press his inquiries so far as formerly.

[105] Panciatichi remained "Primo Segretario di Stato e Segretario di Guerra" (the two offices were regularly united in Tuscany at this time), but Gondi was evidently held in high esteem, for apart from the French correspondence, which he was naturally well fitted to handle, he accompanied Cosimo's brother Francesco to Rome when he was made cardinal in 1687 (Arch. Med. *1610* contains Gondi's letters from Rome to Panciatichi) and also Prince Ferdinand, Cosimo's eldest son, to Venice in 1687–88 (Arch. Med. *1656*, letters of Teglia, December 17, 24, 1687).

charge of the confidential correspondence with his successor, Domenico Zipoli, his former Secretary and La Rue's friend;[106] it is to this correspondence, which contains all of La Rue's letters, that we owe our somewhat scanty knowledge of the latter's stay at Martinique.

After the discouraging reception given him on landing[107] La Rue could only wait in the hope that he might obtain through Monsieur François the promised employment or at least receive from Gondi permission to return to France and Italy. He used this interval in preparing an account of his voyage and a description of the island with special reference to the natural products and commerce, but including brief notices of the climate, the neighboring islands, and the natives.[108] This description, with letters to Gondi and Zipoli,[109] was duly sent in September, but it would seem that La Rue, doubtless to avoid any risk that the Grand Duchess might learn through Monsieur François of his connection with Gondi, confided his letters to friendly passengers or sailors, who were often untrustworthy or negligent. Certain it is that this package did not reach Zipoli until May, 1682,[110] when it arrived at the same time as two other letters for Zipoli and Gondi written four months later and in a quite different tone.[111] Evidently Gondi's special messenger had proved faithless, for La Rue had had no response to any of his letters, although he knew that the ships which carried them had arrived in France. Small wonder that he feared he had been abandoned to his fate and that he begged Gondi for some assurance of his protection, and Zipoli to advise him as to whether he should return before the end of his year of exile.[112]

[106] That Zipoli was not, like Gondi, an Envoy of the Grand Duke may perhaps be inferred from his letter of January 3, 1685 (*4791*), where he expresses his satisfaction at hearing that an "Inviato" is to be sent, and from a later letter of December 24, 1685 (*ibid.*), in which he speaks of the reasons which were given by the Grand Duchess for the refusal of the Grand Duke to appoint an Envoy, apparently in place of Gondi. Moreover in Zipoli's letters we do not hear of interviews with Croissy or other officials, although he was from time to time occupied with diplomatic negotiations. His letters are for the most part in clear, not in the numerical cipher employed by Gondi, though he uses, as we shall see, code words or sometimes numbers to denote persons whom he does not think it prudent to name, or things which if openly designated might furnish a clue to the subject treated. His handwriting is illegible, and I am not sure that I have always discovered the exact reading.

[107] See above, p. 106; below, p. 186.

[108] See below, Letter 6.

[109] Letters 6, 7.

[110] *4791;* letter of May 14, 1682:

In questa settimana hò riceute due lettere dalla Rüe et insieme la relazione dell' Isola, mando il tutto a V.S. Illma acciò le faccia vedere a S.A.S: et scrive due lettere anco a lei. mi dispiace che non abbia riceute le mie due et questa settimana gli hò scritto per tre luoghi cioè per la Rocella, Bordeaus et per havre de grace, et nella forma che ultimamente comandò il Sermo Gran Duca nostro Padrone . . . e non verrà in Toscana sicura, perche a bocca ancora gli representai il tutto.

[111] See below, Letters 8, 9.

[112] For La Rue's intention to remain for a year in Martinique see Gondi's letter of May 30 (see above, note 97): "Parti di qua con risoluzione di non stare alla Martinique se non un anno."

He had indeed good grounds for his apprehensions. Nothing had been heard from Monsieur François, he was still without employment, and his small stock of money and of clothes was steadily diminishing. On the other hand life at Martinique was not unpleasant, he had made friends, and had won the esteem of Monsieur Du Casse;[113] but, as he says, all this put no money in his purse, and he feared that in time his voice might fail. As he recalled the promises given him before he left France, it was but natural that he should feel drawn toward Italy, but he dared not risk the displeasure of the Grand Duke and Gondi, on whom alone he could rely for help, by returning without permission, and this permission, as we have seen, the Grand Duke was by no means disposed to grant. Nor did his situation improve in any way during the months that followed, but rather grew worse, for it became probable that Monsieur Du Casse would be recalled to France, and without his assistance further stay on the island would become impossible. The extant letters of La Rue express a complete but hopeless resignation to the will of the Grand Duke, although there are indications that at times in despair he was on the point of embarking for France without more ado. These fluctuations of feeling may be inferred from letters that passed between Zipoli and Gondi, and from the corresponding decisions of the Grand Duke, for some of La Rue's letters have been lost.[114]

When Zipoli received the packets sent by La Rue in September and January, he was disturbed at learning that his own letters had miscarried, and promptly replied in triplicate by way of La Rochelle, Bordeaux and Le Havre, in conformity with the latest orders of the Grand Duke. These orders not only forbade La Rue to leave without permission, but strictly enjoined upon him never to speak or write about the Grand Duchess, and if he ever returned to France to do so under an assumed name.[115] Although these letters were sent early in May, 1682, it was not until the end of January, 1683, that all three reached La Rue at the same time.[116] Meanwhile, believing himself abandoned, he had written that

[113] M. Du Casse admitted him to his table (Letters 10 and 11) and may well have given him lodging also, for the only expense mentioned in his letters is for clothes, which he says cost twice as much as in France. It is also possible that, although he had no definite position or salary, he was able occasionally to earn a little money. Indeed it is hard to see how he could have remained in Martinique for two years and paid his passage to France, if he had had only his fifteen pistoles (Letter 11).

[114] On November 30, 1682, and August 2, 1683 (*4791*) Zipoli mentions the receipt of letters from La Rue which are not in *4791* and were probably not sent to Florence.

[115] See below, Letter 10. From the passage (p. 191), "Je ne contreviendray . . . changeast aussytost," it seems that La Rue had planned a *roman à clef* on his life at Montmartre before sailing.

[116] See *ibid.* and also Letter 11. La Rue here says to Zipoli that he has received by hand three of his letters at the same time ("un paquet de trois de vos lettres"); in Letter 12 he tells Gondi that he has had only one letter from Zipoli. That of May 14 (see above, note 110) was the third that Zipoli had written and the only one in triplicate. The two earlier letters had been expected to arrive by January (*4768, 4782;* letter of January 9, 1681/82) and could scarcely

he might be driven to take ship for France;[117] but before he could carry out this intention, the receipt of Zipoli's letters had shown him that he was not forgotten. He at once promised implicit obedience to all commands of the Grand Duke, but begged that, since he was required to remain abroad, he might be supplied with the money needed for his support.[118] A month later a second letter in the same submissive tone informed Zipoli that he might be obliged to return suddenly to France, if Monsieur Du Casse were recalled, but in that case he would wait at the port of landing for instructions. In any event he would not leave for about six months and would avail himself of every opportunity to write.[119] This letter, which reached Paris in May[120] alarmed Zipoli, and he sent it to Florence with this comment: "Altra lettera li mando di quello che è lontano; sarebbe carità, e se per avventura si raccomodasse qua, io andrò all' aria."[121] His anxiety was at once understood by Gondi, who in forwarding the letters of La Rue to Panciatichi suggested that the situation needed consideration, for if La Rue returned to France and, improbable as it seemed, made his peace with the Grand Duchess, Zipoli would be in serious danger of falling a victim to her vengeance.[122]

have been delayed so long. Did La Rue, after nearly five months, refer to the "paquet" as "une lettre"? In Letter 10 he speaks of the "paquet" as "vostre lettre."

[117] *4791*, November 30, 1682, Zipoli writes about "la sorella di quello che è in lontan' Paese," that is, the sister of La Rue, and continues: "L'Altro sta, a quello scrive come un stiavo, senza un soldo, e dice che gli scapperà il Cane, cioè che monterà sopra un' Vascello e verrà qua. . . . Bisognerebbe mandargli qualche cosa per adolcirlo a star' la." But he did not enclose La Rue's letter. As the Grand Duke was absent from Florence, Gondi sent Zipoli's letter to Panciatichi, who replied: "Si è visto cio che haveva scritto à V.S.Illma il Sigre Zipoli intorno La Rue. À cui potrà il medesimo Sigre Zipoli rispondere; che non essendo più V.S.Illma à Parigi, egli non saprebbe che replicarli di preciso" (*1610*, December 19, 1682). On January 18, 1683, Zipoli replied that he would conform to his instructions "circa all'huomo che passegia all' America."

[118] See below, Letter 10. The receipt of this letter was reported by Zipoli on March 29, 1683:

Ho riceuta una lettera dall' Amico lontano, è risponsiva a le mie prime d'ordine di V.S. Illma stimo bene mandargliela insieme con l'ordinario. il povero huomo è rimesso affatto nella volonta del Sigre e del Sermo Principe, e par degno di qualche soccorso; aspettero sopra di ciò i suoi ordni (*4791*).

[119] See below, Letter 11.

[120] *4791*, May 17, 1683. No letter of La Rue is enclosed, but the reference must be to Letter 11, which is loose in the manuscript and merely laid in after a letter of Gondi dated October 8. It is certainly out of place and must be the letter sent to Panciatichi on June 1.

[121] *Ibid.*, May 17, 1683.

[122] Gondi to Panciatichi, *1610:*

Di Castello, 1 Giugnio, 1683. Da Monsr la Rue che si trova à la Martinique sono state scritte le aggiunte lettere al Sr Zipoli, et io non potendo venire in persona, dovendomi col riposo, preparare alla medicina di domani, mi prendo la libertà d' inviarli à V.S. Illma acciò si compiaccia porle sotto l'occhio del Gran Duca Sermo nostro Sigre, affinche S. Altza veda la di lui totale remissione al suo volere, et li impegni ne' quali per secondarlo si posse. Mà perche la necessità lo è per costringnere à qualche forzoso cambiamento, per cui il detto Zipoli mi scrive che sarebbe carità il farvi qualche reflessione, perche se per avventura tornasse in francia, et si riaccomodasse, benche ciò non sia credibile, dubiterebbe egli di qualche sinistro incontro per sè, io attenderò per tal causa che V.S. Illma sia per dirmi come dovrò contenermi nel rispondere ò nò sopra tal particolare al prefato Zipoli.

Panciatichi's reply has not been preserved.

Apparently the Grand Duke was quite unmoved and even refused to hear more of La Rue, for on June 28, 1683, Zipoli wrote Gondi that he would not mention La Rue again nor forward his letters.[123] Notwithstanding this promise, on August 2, he reported the receipt of another letter in which La Rue seems to have somewhat changed his tone, for he wrote that if in three months he had not received some money, he would return to France, and if he heard nothing after his arrival, he would consider what course he had better adopt.[124]

Finally in September a letter from La Rue to Gondi brought matters to a head.[125] Worn out by anxiety and five months of illness he had at length decided to yield to the advice of his physicians and confessor, who assured him that a longer stay in Martinique must prove fatal. He entreated forgiveness for this disobedience to the orders that he had received, and begged Gondi, who had formerly promised him his protection, to intercede with the Grand Duke and obtain for him some means of livelihood. Gondi, who feared that the vengeance of the Grand Duchess might reach him as well as Zipoli, if La Rue in desperation disclosed all he knew,[126] at once appealed to the Grand Duke, who still remained

[123] Dal Lontano non ne parlerò piu, ne manderò più sue lettere, e prego Dio, che alla fine non li scappi il cane (*4791*).

[124] In the following passage the italicized words are in a numerical cipher in the original with interlinear decipherments apparently in Gondi's hand.

Ho ricevuto altra lettera 15 giorni sono da quell'huomo delle *Indie,* il quale mi dice, che se in termine di tre mesi non vede mie lettere, et insieme qualche poco d'aiuto, che se ne passera *in francia* perche non ci puole sussistere, e quando sarà in un' *Porto* mi scriverà e se non riceve mie lettere vedrà e penserà a quello deve fare. cosi va, et io son qua . . . (*4791*. This is the end of the page; the rest of the letter is missing.)

This letter of La Rue is lost. It is certainly not the letter (12) inserted at this point in the manuscript, for — to say nothing of the difference in subject matter — that letter is addressed to Gondi, and was written from Martinique on July 13. The letter to Zipoli arrived about July 18, and can hardly have been written much later than the middle of May. It is probable that its tone led Zipoli to refrain from sending it to Florence.

[125] See below, Letter 12. The letter to Gondi was sent in duplicate and accompanied by a lost letter to Zipoli. See *4791*, September 20, 1683:

In questa settimana hò riceute tre lettere dal Tonante (La Rue) il dublicato di questa per V.S. Illma et una simile per me, li mando anco questa e benche non se ne voglia più sapere niente, ma si potrebbe accomodare con Floridoro (La Granduchessa), et io in quel caso che son' qua andero all' aria; pazienza ci vuole, io non li rispondo.

[126] This appears in Gondi's letter to Panciatichi in *1610,* October 8, 1683:

Il motivo di aver' esibito la lettera de la Ruë non hà solamente quello della Carità, quanto il reflettersi, che dal suo ritorno in francia, il Zipoli sta sottoposto à qualche affronto dalla Gran Duchessa, perche se questa lo richiama appresso di se, ò disperato per il bisogno et per vedersi mancar' trà mano quanto mi fù imposto il dirli revelò tutto a S. Altza, questo accidente può darsi, mentre ella fece il possibile per verificare l'indizio che ebbe che da me li fusse mandato à parlare il detto Zipoli à Rouen, et che inoltre la Ruë fusse da me stato sostenuto et procurato d'impedire la sua espulsione, et si pensò anche da lei, se ciò li fusse constato di farne qualche dimostrazione contro di me. Mi pare che tutto cio meriti qualche reflesso. Et il suddetto Zipoli nè sta con pena scrivendomi con la sua de' 20 Sett. le seguenti precise parole. (Here follows the passage cited in the preceding note.)

This letter was written the same day that Gondi sent the instructions of the Grand Duke to

indifferent to the possible danger of his agents, and merely directed him to write Zipoli that if La Rue could not stay in Martinique, he might go where God willed, for the Grand Duke would take no further notice of him; if however he established himself in Italy, he would receive recommendations and only for once a gift of money.[127] This letter cannot have given much comfort to Zipoli, but he could simply promise to inform La Rue of the decision of the Grand Duke, and to do his best to persuade him to go to Italy, even if he himself bore part of the expense.[128]

Shortly after sending his letter to Gondi, La Rue embarked for France, and after a tempestuous voyage of three months (twice the duration of his outward journey) landed at La Rochelle, with the intention of going at once to Marseilles and there awaiting the remittance and instructions from Florence, which he had been promised. His troubles, however, were not yet at an end, for at this juncture he had the misfortune to dislocate his arm. Unable to take a long journey and finding La Rochelle too expensive for his slender means, he changed his plan and went to Angers, where he hoped that his father might be able to support him through the winter or at least until he could learn the wishes of the Grand Duke. Once more he was disappointed, for his father was too poor to help him, and he was told by the surgeons that he would never regain the complete use of his arm, although he would probably be able to write and even to play the clavicord. As he did not know whether Zipoli was still in Paris, he turned in his distress to Gondi, and in the last letter which has been preserved set forth his present situation, and in humble submission to the will of the Grand Duke begged that he might be given some assistance.[129] This letter, backed probably by Gondi's in-

Zipoli. Its tenor shows that Gondi was by no means pleased with the indifference of his master, though he did not venture to protest directly.

[127] The instructions of the Grand Duke were sent by Gondi to Zipoli on October 8, and the draft of his letter — the only draft of a letter by Gondi concerning La Rue in *4791* — is in part as follows:

Hà S. Altᶻᵃ veduta la lettera scritta dalla Martinique et hà risoluto, che se la Rüe non può più starvi et voglia andarsene, faccia quel che Dio li inspira non intendendo l'Altᶻᵃ Sua di prenderne cognizione, nè ne vuole caricarsi punto di lui, è ben vero che se viene in Italia per procurare di accomodarsi si vedrà di raccomandarlo, et per una volta tanto li somministrerà S. Altᶻᵃ qualche cosa, ma non deve metter' piede in Toscana. In questa forma li faccia V.S. sapere la risoluzione di S. Altᶻᵃ ò scrivendoli à la Martinique ò aspettando il suo arrivo costà, et nell' uno ò nell' altro modo li faccia avere la mia qui aggiunta che li mando à sigillo in falso acciò la veda per conformarvisi et la risigilla.

[128] In the following passage the italicized names are in a numerical cipher in the original and are the only words deciphered there, this letter differing in this respect from the others by Zipoli:

Quando [La Rue] verrà non puole venire a sbarcare ne Porti vicini, perche quelli che vengono da Manna (Martinique) scendono, e seggono ò a *Havre* a *Dieppe* ò a *la Rochelle*. quando verrà a mia notizia stia pur certa, che farò quanto posso accio vadia *in Italia* et anco a qualche mio costo, perche è da temersi di qualche accomodamento. subito che verrà qui, ò che scrive li darò la carta di *V. S. Illᵐᵃ* e li dirò quello che *il Gran Duca* vuol fare per lui, accerti pure che non si accosterà a *Toscana* a quello mi disse e che più vuolte mi spedi con le lettere (*4791*, November 1, 1683).

[129] See below, Letter 13. The writing here, although fairly clear, is more irregular and less

fluence, at length moved Cosimo to order that a gift of twenty *dobbie* should be sent to La Rue with a promise of support in his endeavor to establish himself in Italy, "fuori di Toscana," but with a warning not to expect anything more in the future.[130]

Early in December Zipoli learned that La Rue was at Angers but unable to travel because of the injury to his arm and the unusual inclemency of the weather. To encourage him to go as soon as possible to Marseilles, and especially to keep him away from Paris and the Grand Duchess, Cintia and Zipoli together sent him three *dobbie*,[131] and when a month later the decision of the Grand Duke reached him, he at once communicated it to La Rue, but withheld the money, for in the meantime a new complication had developed.[132] It seems that Monsieur Du Casse had written to his brother of La Rue's return and had strongly recommended him to his consideration. Monsieur François had thereupon taken the letter to Montmartre and repeated to the Grand Duchess these praises of La Rue, doubtless in the hope that he might be restored to favor. Marguerite, however, at once gave orders that he should be arrested at his father's house and brought back to St.-Lazare. Great was the alarm of Cintia and Zipoli lest their letters and gifts should be discovered, but their anxiety was relieved by the news that La Rue had been warned in time and had gone into safe hiding. He had also received the money

sure than in the earlier letters; his arm was evidently still weak. The letter is signed "Bouchet," the name that La Rue bore, at least officially, for nearly four years.

[130] Panciatichi to Gondi from the Villa Ambrogiana, where the Grand Duke was staying:

Ho sentito il Principe Serenissimo quanto V.S. Illma mi scrive con la sua del primo del corrente (this letter is not preserved); et vista anche l'altra che mi era acclusa et che io le rimando del la Rue; et mi adita di risponderle che significhi al Sr Zipoli, che faccia pagare all' istesso la Rue venti doppie, confermandoli, che volendo avventurarsi a cercar sua fortuna in Italia fuori di Toscana, si darà da S.A. mano con adequati ufficij al suo accomodamento; Et che nel resto non se vuol pensare ad altro soccorso (*1610*, January 2, 1683/4).

These orders were sent to Zipoli by Gondi in his lost letter of January 6; cf. below, note 133.

[131] Ho nuove de la Rue, il quale si trova a casa suo Padre. li manderò la lettera di V.S. Illma e a causa del suo male al braccio, e per causi de tempi che sono stranissimi, poiche non fa che nevicare non potrà si presto incaminarsi verso Marsilia. prego Dio che non venga qua, affine che non si abbochi con la Granduchessa, perche mi farebbe saltare. io lo solleciterò a venire alla Citta suddetta il più che posso, e per indurlo Cintia et io li daremo lei una et io due dobbie (*4791*, first letter of December 13, 1683).

The three "dobbie" are called three "luigi" in his letter of January 31.

The winter of 1683–84 was excessively severe, even the Thames remaining frozen over for some months; see H. B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present* (London; 1891), III, pp. 363–364; C. E. Little, *Cyclopedia of Classified Dates* (New York and London; 1900), p. 896.

[132] This was explained by Zipoli somewhat later:

La sua (i.e. La Rue's) venuta la Granduchessa la seppe da Mons François, al quale fu scritto dal suo Parente che risiede a la Martinique, il quale glielo raccomandava, e li fece un' elogio di lui, queste riceuta la lettera si portò à Montmartre e ne dette parte alla Granduchessa, e li raccomandò il povero la Rue, dicendogli che era diventato si savio et huomo di garbo, e che il gran male l'haveva fatto ripassare (*4791*, March 13, 1684).

sent by them, and gave directions for forwarding the twenty *dobbie* of the Grand Duke.[133]

In fact although Marguerite continued the search with her usual energy, all her efforts proved fruitless. La Rue successfully avoided discovery, while remaining in constant communication with Zipoli, who on March 20, 1684,[134] was able to write Gondi that "Signor Bouchet" had decided to leave Angers on the twenty-third for Lyons on his way to Venice, as he thought he was more likely to succeed there than in Rome. Zipoli had secured from a friend a letter of recommendation to Zanettini, a celebrated "Maestro di Cappella," and had also directed La Rue to call at once on the Florentine agent, Matteo del Teglia, "Maestro di Posta di Firenze," who would have letters for him from Gondi. Naturally as soon as this news reached Florence instructions were sent to Teglia that a French musician named Bouchet would shortly arrive in Venice, where he hoped to support himself by his profession; the Grand Duke directed him to help the new comer, so far as possible, and to pay him 24 scudi toward his support until he could find employment.[135] Teglia in a reply written while he was still

[133] The story begins in *4791* in Zipoli's letter, January 31, 1683/84, in which he tells of sending to La Rue the instructions of Cosimo received in Gondi's letter of January 6 (see above, note 130) with the order for the 20 *dobbie;* he continues:

Io non li mandai le 20 doppie, perche sapevo che la Gran Duchessa haveva parlato tre vuolte a Monr François et doppo mandato a chiamare Mr Joly con il quale stesse un' ora e mezzo raccolsi(e?), che si era dato ordine di farlo levare di casa il Padre et farlo mettere alle buiose dove era la prima volta. La Cintia et lo Zipoli ne erano in gran pena a causa della lettera che si era mandata di ciascheduno di loro, ma ieri ricevessi avviso che haveva riceute tutte due, con li tre luigi, che gli erano arrivati a tempo, e perche una persona da bene gli haveva fatto penetrare, che gli ordini erano dati per levarlo, si ritirava a 12 leghe di suo Padre in luogo che chi si sia non lo troverà, che giorno e notte preghierà per S. Altza che li mandi le 20 dᵉ per un' tal luogo, e che subito si porterà a Marsilia di dove scriverà a V.S. dicendogli dove andrà se a Venezia ò a Roma, e la aspetterà le raccomandazioni; e credo che non sarà male una vuolta, che sarà accomodato, perche hà talenti di piacere.

He continues the narrative in the letter of February 28 (*ibid.*):

Sempre si fanno diligenze per trovarlo (i.e. La Rue) e rimetterlo in quello solita stanza . . . ma la passata si sono riceute sue lettere con le risposte alla summa delle 20 doppie, che mi hà fatto pagare a questa dogana, et gli hò mandato la lettera di cambio su l'Intendente di Engers (*sic*), che li saranno pagate.

On March 13 he wrote, "La Rue mi ha risposto haver riceute le venti doppie, et è risoluto d'andare a Venezia."

[134] Lo mando una lettera del Signore Bouchet (the letter is missing) che hò riceuta, . . . e vedrà come hà presa la risoluzione di portarsi a Venezia e non a Roma, per la spera con le raccomandazioni di S.A. di manternersi meglio a causa del sonare e del cantare. Di dove è partirà il di 23 di questo, e arriverà a Lione di la a Turino dove si imbarcherà, per condursi a Venezia. io gli hò mandata una lettera di un' mio amico di raccomandazione, e questa è per il Sigr Zanettini maestro di Cappella, ma come potrebbe non esservi, ò esser' morto, gli hò scritto, che al suo arrivo faccia motto dal Sigre Teglia dove facilmente troverà lettere di S. Illma, però le mandi in casa il Sigre Teglia o in casa il Sigre Zanettini (*ibid.*).

[135] Panciatichi to Teglia (*3042*, fol. 1114r, April 8, 1684):

Non dovrà star' molto à comparire costà doppo l'arrivo di questa un tal francese chiamato Monr Bouchet, et che giunto in codesta Città verrà a trovare V.S. per intendere se avesse da farli sapere qualcosa. Come questo soggetto che è di professione musico, et possiede quell' Arte tanto nell' Idioma

weak from a fever both promised to introduce him to masters who could appreciate his ability and suggested the possibility of an engagement at the Teatro Grimani.[136]

It was, however, nearly the middle of June before La Rue reached Venice.[137] He was in a pitiable condition, worn out by his long journey and an illness at Turin, and of course utterly destitute.[138] Teglia received him kindly, paid his

Italiano quanto nel suo proprio, vuole procurarsi qualche Impiego per potere mediante la professione suddetta, ò in qualsisia altra forma ancora vivere onoratamente; Così è mente del Gran Duca-Sermo che V.S. lo assista à conseguire il suo intento potendo ella co'l mezzo delle sue conoscenze facilitarline assai l'ottenimento. Pero (?) durante il tempo di che lo(li?) converrà trapassare in attendendo di procacciarsi qualche occasione per il di sopra addotto fine, venisse egli ad aver' bisogno di soccorso, si contenta l'Altza S. in tal caso, che V.S. li sborsi sin' alla somma di due dozzine di scudi che (erased in ms.) essere à lei fatti buoni ne' soliti suoi Conti. Alla presente lettera mi risponda V.S. con altra sua à parte.

A letter of Gondi written at the same time is lost. The order to keep the correspondence on La Rue apart from other business seems to indicate that his affairs were to be secret from all but the Secretary and the Grand Duke.

[136] Non s' è per anche il Sr Bouchet lasciato vedere, onde non sarà fors' anche giunto; Quando venga, troverà in me un' ottimo di coadiuvare ad ogni suo desiderio, in quanto mi sarà permesso dalla propria debolezza; e prima d'ogni cosa lo faro conoscere da questi Maestri di Musica e s' haverà genio à recitare l'introdurrò da Sige Grimani per il più degno Teatro della Città, sostenendo il di lui vantaggio se si lascerà servire senza impegnarsi,. e l'introdurrò dal Sr Ambasciatore di francia, se vorrà, per un' appogio più forte (*3042,* fol. 617r, April 15, 1684).

Teglia also wrote a short letter to Gondi of similar tenor in response to his recommendation of La Rue (*1656,* April 15, 1684).

[137] The lack of any news of La Rue after his departure from Angers greatly troubled Zipoli, who on May 8 wrote Gondi:

Io ne sono in pena, perche dalla lettera che mi scrisse (La Rue) e che partirebbe il 23 Marzo mai più ne ho haute sue nuove, ne mai è arrivato a Lione, e dubito che non sia malato sopra un' osteria ò che sia morto, ò che La Gran Duchessa in quei pochi giorni, che stesse da suo padre per dirgli addio non lo facesse levare, e condurre, e mettere in una di quelle case pie, il che non vorrei (*4791*).

His anxiety was relieved at the end of May (*ibid.,* May 29), when he learned that La Rue had already passed through Lyons, apparently without calling on the Florentine agent. In fact, since La Rue arrived in Venice before June 14, after being delayed at Turin by illness, he probably left Lyons before the end of April.

[138] This was reported by Teglia in two letters, one on June 14, *1684,* to Gondi (*1656*), and the other on June 17 to Panciatichi (*3042,* fol. 681r-v). In the latter he writes as follows:

Comparve finalmente il Sige Bouchet musico francese, ma si mal insesto, destituto, e logoro che mi rese maraviglia dal viaggio e dalle malatia, che hà sofferta in Turino. Di qui è che molto opportuno gl' è giunto il soccorso che benignamente V. Illma si degnò comandarmi li porgersi. Con questo s'è pagata la sua condotta da Turino à qui, e dato à lui per riscuotere la Valigetta, pagandoli denaro per il vitto, e la Camera fin' all' ultimo del corrente mese in luogo privato per la minore spesa. S' è fatto qui un poco di scandaglio sopra la sua abilità musicale misurandola con l'occasione degli impieghi che si potessere offerire per esso. La recita in qhalche Teatro sarebbe la migliore; ma non occorre pensarci à riguardo della pronuncia cattiva nel Canto Italiano, e francese non si usa. Per Chiesa saria migliore, ma si fà poco, e si và tutto per broglio à riguardo del numero de' Cantanti. Appresso questi nobili non (*fol. 681v*) saprei ch'e impiego se non di Cameriere in smacco della professione e dell' abilità che possiede; onde il paese non pare che sia per esso, che più stimerebbe il passagio d' Alema che in Italia quando gli fusse somministrato il modo d'andarvi, e ben raccomandato, Io qui trovandolo giovane molto abile, discreto, e morigerato, farò quanto mi sarà possibile per aiutarlo, e servire V. Illma che lo comanda.

expenses from Turin to Venice, and his board and lodging in a private family until the end of the month — an outlay which naturally almost exhausted Cosimo's gift, — and since he found him, as he says, "giovane molto abile, discreto e morigerato," exerted himself to obtain employment for him in his profession. A test of his musical ability showed that any appearance in a Venetian theatre was impossible because of his French accent. According to Teglia his voice was not "cattiva," though weak from his recent illness, and seemed better adapted to a church choir than to the stage,[139] but singers were numerous and the appointments in the churches were generally the result of intrigues and bargains (*brogli*). Nor was there any place available in a noble family except as valet (*cameriere*), a position, in Teglia's opinion, quite unworthy of the ability and profession of his protégé.[140] Under these circumstances La Rue felt that Italy was no place for him, and that he could do better in Germany, if he were given money for the journey and letters of recommendation. In answer to Teglia's explanation of the circumstances Panciatichi expressed the belief that when La Rue had recovered his strength, he could with a little diligence and energy overcome his troubles. To enable him to make a further effort, or to take any other decision which he might deem best, the Grand Duke sent him 16 piastres, but absolutely refused to give him any recommendations in Germany.[141] This somewhat unsympathetic reply, accompanied as it was by a letter from Gondi, which evidently held out no hope of further assistance, drove La Rue almost to desperation, for in spite of the small gift of money, he felt that he was abandoned to his fate,[142] and apparently the thought of a possible return to Montmartre again presented itself to him. There is nothing in Teglia's letters to suggest such a plan,

P.S. Il giovane suddetto non applica qui ad alcun' impiego, se prima non sente da V. Illma (la cui protezione implora) i sentimenti del Sermo Gran Duca sopra di esso.

[139] La voce è un poco fiacca, ma non cattiva, e per Chiesa farà meglio quando egli sarà riauto, e rimesso dalla fresca indisposizione (*1656*, to Gondi, June 14, 1684).

[140] Teglia enlarged on this point in a later letter to Gondi (*ibid.*, July 1, 1684). After saying that La Rue "non deve applicarsi ad ogn' abietto servizio che segli presenti," he continues:

I Cavalieri Veneziani della maggior sfera tengono Camerieri ma che siano Peruchieri, ò Barbieri per uso loro, e tal' uno gli facci anche da Segretario; di queste funzioni non può egli fare nessuna; onde à dire il vero non saprei à che potere applicarlo perche gente di parata non usa fra questi Signori.

In terror of La Rue's return to France, Zipoli did not approve his refusal of menial service:

Per me se fussi per fare lo stallone mi accomoderei, e tutto farei di buon cuore per non essere obligato di ritornare in Francia dove non farà mai buono per lui, perchè la Gran Duchessa lo caverebbe della sua Furia (*4791*, October 25, 1684).

[141] Si contenta il Gran Duca Sermo che V. S. li sborsi il valore di sedici Piastre, quali à lei saranno fatte buone ne' suoi conti. Mà circa il raccomandarlo in Alemagna in caso che vi si voglia condurre, non intende S.Altza di far tal passo conalcuno (*3042*, fol. 1142, June 24, 1684).

[142] *1656:* Teglia to Gondi, July 1, 1684:

In poco meno che disperazione hò visto il Sr Buquet alla ricevuta della di V. Illma, e la lettera dell' altra di Segria benchè sia questa accompagnata dalle grazie di S.A.S. comprendendone i sentimenti per un' abbandono . . . Onde se sene vede abbandonato, temo di qualche accidente in questo povero giovane, che scorge di buonissima indole.

unless this is the "accidente" which he feared, but a very long and somewhat enigmatic letter of Zipoli shows that La Rue had written Gondi that abandonment by the Grand Duke would leave him no other resource than to seek pardon from the Grand Duchess — a prospect which threw Cintia and Zipoli into agonies of terror, and led the latter to suggest that all this danger might be avoided by a very small expenditure of money.[143] If La Rue ever thought seriously of returning to Paris, he must have quickly abandoned the design and felt it expedient to adopt a more submissive tone,[144] for on July 22 Cosimo sent him 30 piastres to support him until he could secure a position in some Venetian household.[145]

Finally in August Teglia was able to report that he had found a place for La Rue in the train of Alberti, the new Venetian ambassador to Poland,[146] who at once took him into high favor and, according to Teglia, regarded him more as a companion than a servant. Unfortunately, although Teglia, knowing the suspi-

[143] *4791*, August 2, 1684:

Circa a quello che S. Illma mi dice . . . del la Rue, io l'assicuro sinceremente, che questa sua maniera di scrivere non mi piace niente, e mi fa dubitare di qualche sinistro accidente per la mia persona, perche quando lo considero francese, giovane abbandonato, e che si è esplicato nella maniera, che ha fatto, mi persuado che possa anco tentare l'ultimo rimedio, che è quello della Granduchessa.

He then enlarges at great length on the danger that La Rue's reconciliation with the Grand Duchess implies for Cintia and himself, and continues:

Non è a mi di rappresentare, che con poco si poteva rimediare, levando l'occasione a questo miserabile di mettersi alla discrezionz della Gr. Duchessa, che in una maniera o in un' altra farà terminare il fatto in Tragedia; . . . ma li dico in fine che nulla di buono si deve asperare da un' miserabile, che si vede abbandonato da tutti, e la speranza del perdono, e di una mediocre fortuna (che sa Dio se li terrà la parola) li farà fare tal passo. (See also above, note 92.)

[144] On August 9 Zipoli wrote Gondi, "Godo che La Rue gli abbia scritto con vera sommissione," and in a second letter of the same date, "Ho riceuta una lettera da La Rue, mi rallegra, perche mi dice, in caso non trovi in Venezia, che si vuol portare in Alemagna dove spera che una moschettata, ò una sciabolata li farà finire la sua cattiva fortuna" (*4791*).

[145] *3042*, fol. 1149r, July 22, 1684:

Acciò che il Sigr Bouchet possa aver' commodità di entrare costà al servizio di qualcuno, et supplire à qualche sua necessità, dovrà V.S. sborsarli trenta Piastre.

At the end of Teglia's account from May 1 to July 31 (*ibid.*, fol. 758v) is the entry:

Dati al Sre Buchet d'ordᵉ di S.A.S. in tre partite somma di 24, 16, e 30, che in totale sono scudi 70 in Vulg. 700 Scudi [i.e. "lire di Venezia"].

[146] Teglia's letter of August 19 (*3042*, fol. 778r):

Essendomi finalmente sortito impiegare il Sr Buchet appresso il nuovo Inviato della Repca in Pollonia io porto à V. Illma l'avviso, ed egli pure al Sigr Abᵉ Gondi; Non ardisce per modestia di supplicare di nove grazie S.A.S. benche n' habia bisogno in quest' occasione, sapendo esser beneficato; ma non dispero in questo rincontro nuovi pegni della munificente mano dell' A.S. La partenza sarà in breve, ma forse in tempo di ricevere le sue riverite grazie.

On the formation of the Holy League between Venice, the Empire, and Poland the Senate ordered Angelo Morosini, Procuratore di San Marco, who had already been appointed to convey the congratulations of the Republic to the king of Poland on his accession (two years before), to hasten his departure; "L' esequì egli sollacitamente, e adempiesti gli ufficij impostigli restò per Ministro della Republica in quella Corte il Segretario Girolamo Alberti" (Garzoni, I, p. 62).

cion with which the French were regarded in Venice, had taken the precaution to introduce La Rue as a Savoyard, the Inquisitori di Stato in some way learned the truth and promptly forbade Alberti to employ him in any capacity.[147] Much against his will Alberti was obliged to obey, and La Rue was once more thrown upon his own resources, or rather upon the charity of his friends. Here Teglia, who like Du Casse and Alberti had been completely won over by La Rue's attractive character, came to his rescue. He took him to his own house, supplied him with money,[148] endeavored to console him for his bitter disappointment, and urged Gondi to assure him of the continuance of his protection, although he admitted that if La Rue failed to find employment in Venice, it would be necessary for him to look elsewhere, preferably at Rome.[149]

Happily the efforts of Teglia were at last successful, and early in October La Rue was established in the household of Pietro Grimani, who had been appointed Luogo Tenente Generale of Udine for sixteen months. He expected to employ La Rue as tutor for his sons, but the duties were not definitely settled nor a fixed salary promised him, and Teglia was inclined to think that the posi-

[147] Teglia to Gondi (*1656*, August 30, 1684):

Non sò se sia fatale la disgrazia del Sig^{r} Buchet, o sia mia la poca fortuna di servire in esso V. Ill^{ma}. Doppo varie agitazioni, ed impieghi della mia debolezza unita a quella d'Amici per trovarne uno per lui, mi si mostrò favorevole al fine, e credei, come accennai all' Ill^{mo} Sig^{re} Segretario Panciatichi, d'haver ottenuto l'intento con la maggiore sodisfazione del medesimo, che ne gioiva d'allegrezza; et in pochi giorni di servizio hà dato al Padrone tali saggi di se stesso che l'haveva incatenato d'affetto, e mi hà più volte ringraziato di si buona provisione di compagno, più che di servitore, quando risaputosi da gl' Inquisitori di Stato essere di nazione francese, non sò di qual modo, perchè l'havevo proposto per savoiardo, essendo per tutto, ma qui più ch'altrove in sospetto la nazione, s'e proibito al S^{r} Alberti, come Ministro publico, di servirsene in alcuno conto. Il Sig^{r} Alessandro Guasconi potrebbe attestare a V. Ill^{ma} il dispiacere col quale questo Sig^{re} ha dovuto obedire.

Zipoli's comment on hearing the news was, "veramente per li non si vuole per anco fermare, Dio li aiuterà, et in questo Carnevale forse troverà qualche cosa" (*4791*, September 27, 1684).

[148] At the end of Teglia's accounts from August 1 to November 30 (*3042*, fol. 921) is the entry:

Per tanto somministrato à Monsù Buchet ne tutti bisogni per allestirsi all' impiego che ora tiene Ducati (?) 248 (298?).

Teglia to Panciatichi, October 11, 1684:

Io non posso far più di quello che ho fatto per esso à riguardo de' riveriti comandamenti di V. Ill^{ma} havendolo tolto in Casa propria per sollevarlo dalle spese, ed in quest' occasione accomodatolo di qualche Denaro per mettersi all ordine civil^{me} à sostenere il decoro della (*fol. 864v*) sua civile condizione perche tanto si vale à servire, quanto sà farsi valere un' uomo adequata prudenza, della quale certo egli n'abbonda (*ibid.*, fol. 864r–v).

[149] Non posso io già dire quale amarezza habbi' provata in questo contrario accidente il povero Buchet, che pieno d'abilità, si trova si scarso di fortuna, obbligato à riconoscere le disgrazie dalla Patria. Lo vado al possibile consolando, e com' è prudente, versato, e religioso si va risegnando; ma se V. Ill^{ma} non lo consola con la sicurezza della sua protezione puo cagionarli qualche accidente. Si seguita qui à fare le diligenze più premurose per qualche trattimento, ma se per i rispetti suddetti non riescisse sarà necessario farli mutar' clima, e forsi fortuna. In Italia non sarà meglio che Roma. Dall' aggiunta lettera comprenderà meglio V. Ill^{ma} il suo bisogno. Io non mancherò certe di far qui ancora tutte le parti che potrò per comprobare la stima che fò del merito di si abile soggetto, e quella de' riveriti comandamenti di V. Ill^{ma} (*1656*, August 30, 1684).

tion might involve more expense than profit.[150] Indeed La Rue seems to have taken the place chiefly to avoid idleness and the appearance of depending solely on the bounty of Cosimo. More than ever Teglia was impressed with his eagerness to learn, his ability and his fine character, and pointed out to Gondi that on these grounds alone, apart from other considerations, he deserved the fullest support.[151] Of La Rue's life at Udine we know nothing. He was satisfied in his new position, liked by his associates, and evidently found occasion to practise his favorite music, for Zipoli promised to send him a flute at the first opportunity. His duties were apparently not very arduous, for he had time to prepare for Gondi an account of his travels, including probably the revised and enlarged description of Martinique, which his illness had prevented him from writing before his departure from the Island.[152]

[150] Teglia to Panciatichi, October 11, 1684 (*3042*, fol. 864r–865r):

Essendomi riescito al fine di trovare nuovamente impiego al Sigre Rinaldo Buchet, ne porto à V. Illma la notizia, onde sappia la diligenza che s' è fatta per levarlo dall' ozio, ed esercitare il suo gran spirito, essend' obligato di confessare non haver' conosciuto mai giovane dell' età sua nè più abile, nè più ornato di questo, il quale in vero hà delle belle cognizioni, tutte utile alla Vita civile, e morale per render' un' uomo perfetto, e capace d'ogni impiego; ma bisogna darli mano, ed aiutarlo per condurlo, acciò non perda per mancanza di mezzi l'occasioni di farsi conoscere . . . (*fol. 864v*) Partirà in brevi giorni con L'Eccmo Sigre Pietro Grimani Cavaliere di primo rango della Patria, che và Luogo Tenente Generale di Udine per la Serma Repca, e la Carica dura sedici mesi. (*fol. 865r*) Non hà S. Eccza fatto al Sr Buchet assegnamento positivo d'impiego, ne di salario; ma de primi n'haverà molti à misura dell' abilità, e delle sodisfazioni che già mostra l'Eccza Sua del tratto del giovane per l'educazione de' proprij figli, etc.; ma non sò quello farà del salario, il quale per trattarlo con distinzione da gl'altri Servitori di Cappa, non hà voluto fermare; ne m'è parso decoro di chiedere a S. Eccza denaro à conto per mettere all' ordine Buchet, che ho sostenuto con avvantagio d'onore, al quale spero risponderà per meritare la continouata protezione di V. Illma, à cui umilimente si raccomanda.

Ma haverà in questo impiego più di spesa che d'utile (*1656*, Teglia to Gondi, September 23, 1684).

[151] On October 11 he also wrote Gondi (*1656*):

Vedrà V. Illma ciò che scrivo alla Segria di stato, e quanto si è da me fatto per servizio del Sre Buchet, il merito del quale richiede ben di vantaggio, e mi dispiace non poter fare di più per farli conoscere la stima che ne farò sempre. E son ben assicurato che se pure costì si conoscesse, non si lascerebbe andare vagando un giovane di tanta abilità; uniti(?) à rispetti che a V.S. Illma son noti; ma non credo che habbia cognizione dello stato suo presente, nel quale si trova, più di quello che sò io rappresentare, ornato, e studioso sempre di nuove cognizioni; per lo che, se non per altro che hà sentimenti nobilissimi, merita essere aiutato e protetto.

On December 2 (*ibid.*) he wrote again on this subject:

Quanto si debba riflettere all' importanza di tenere beneficato questo spiritoso figlio, la sua Virtù lo comprende senz' altro; ed egli non se ne abuserà co' buoni tratti, e portamenti. Lo(?) va meritando, pero non bisogna abbandonarlo. L'Impiego che tiene appresso questo gran Senatore gli sarà in fine più di spesa che d'utile, ma egli lo prese per non star' ozioso, e acio (*sic*) non si credesse costo ch' egli volesse totalmente appoggiarsi all' aggravio della Serma Corte. La quale non spenderà mai male il suo denaro in trattenerlo perche oltre i consaputi rispetti, puo egli rendere alla medesima in ogni luogo un buon servizio con l'abilità che possiede.

It does not appear that these eulogies loosened Cosimo's purse strings, although Teglia's accounts were doubtless paid, as no objection was raised by Panciatichi in his reply to Teglia's letter (*3042*, fol. 1195).

[152] On the revised description of Martinique see below, Letter 10. It has probably been lost. It was sent to Gondi in March, 1685. Teglia writes on March 24 (*1656*):

Havendomi sul fine della passata il Sr Buscet (*sic*) inviata l'aggiunta sua lettera per V. Illma con la

A few months later he attracted the attention of Dr. Montanari, "Lector" of Mathematics at Padua, who offered to take him as an assistant and train him in mathematics, provided he could secure a recommendation from the Grand Duke. Accordingly on August 4, 1685, Teglia forwarded a humble request from La Rue for such a letter, and also for the aid without which his poverty would prevent him from accepting this opportunity.[153] Cosimo readily gave the desired recommendation, but made no promise of other assistance.[154] Nevertheless in November La Rue passed through Venice on his way to Padua,[155] and in December the

relazione de suoi Viaggi con permissione di leggerla prima, ho differito fin hora il mandarla. La supplico di perdona, e l'unisco alla presente, dicendole che per metterla in sieme, i fogli vanno tutti uno nell' altro a guisa di quinternello, come si vede da numeri della Carte.

The same arrangement of pages is found in the account of the antiquities of Athens by La Rue.

Gondi evidently wrote to Zipoli, expressing satisfaction with La Rue's work, for on April 23, 1685, he replied as follows:

Non scrivo à La Rue, perche non hò cosa di nuovo. hò ben caro sentire, che sia contento e che sia amato, et hò caro ancora, che V.S. Illma sia contento di lui e della sua relazione, quando li spedirà lettere, lo saluti in nome mio; e li dica che li mandero il flauto con prima occasione (*4791*).

[153] Doveva fin la passata umiliare a V. Illma le ossequiose supplicazioni del Sr Buscett (*sic*), per una lettera di raccomandazione del Sermo Gran Duca, ò d'ordine di S.A.S. al Sr Dore Montanari Lettore di Matematiche in Padova, che s'offerisce insegnarli le professioni e torle per Aiuto; ma senza i suffragij clementi dell' A.S. per sussister fin che studia, non può il povero giovane abbracciare questa bella fortuna d'abilitarsi per sempre all' acquisto del proprio vitto, e riposo. Spera molto nella sua riverita protezione e implora divotamente le gratie di che io in nome suo La supplico (*3043*, fol. 283r).

On Geminiano Montanari (1623–1683) see G. Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca Modanese* (Modena: 1783), III, 254–279; *Enc. ital., s.v.* Montanari. By birth a Modanese, Montanari, an eminent engineer and astronomer, occupied the chair of mathematics at Bologna from 1664–1678, when he was called to Padua to the chair of astronomy, to which that of meteorology was added; he also evidently gave private lessons in physics and mathematics (Tiraboschi, pp. 259, 262, 263). He frequently visited Venice, and a natural inference is that thus La Rue came to his attention. Considering La Rue's later position as *bombista* in Morosini's forces it is not without interest that one of the works of Montanari (*ibid.*, p. 273) was a *Manualetto di Bombisti* (Venice: 1680).

[154] Panciatichi to Teglia, August 18, 1685 (*3043*, fol. 190sr):

Non devesi mai tralasciare di contribuire à fini lodevoli di chi hà per oggetto l'approfittarsi nella strada della Virtù; Et però avendo udito dalla V.S. de' 4. del Mese che corre che à Mr Bouchet si porge una bella congiuntura di entrare appresso il Sigr Dottor' Montanari Lettore di Mattematiche in Padova, quale si è offerto di insegnarli la Teorica et la Pratica di esse, prendendolo a tal conto per Aiuto di Studio; Vuole il Gran Duca Sermo che V.S. gliele raccomandi con efficace premura, onde pigli argumento di darli adito maggiore di arricchire la sua mente di tante stimatilissime cognizioni che sotto di lui può sperare di apprendere per rendersi di poi con esse capace à sostenersi onoratamente nel Mondo. Della bontà di esso Sigr Montanari hà S.A. motivo di promettersene, et pertanto è da credersi che ne riceverà volentieri li ufficij che V.S. li ne presenterà.

[155] Teglia to Gondi, November 10, 1685 (*1656*):

Giunge in questo punto qui per andarsene a Padova il Sigr Rinaldo Buchett a fare i suoi studij di mecanica, sotto le virtuose Lezioni del Se Dottor Montanari, e spero lo farà con profitto perchè ha spirito.

The decision of La Rue to study at Padua gave great satisfaction to Zipoli, who wrote Gondi:

Fin a sodisfazione è stato l'avviso che V.S. mi ha dato di La Rue, e sua applicazione, e non dubito che non sia per profitare, perche già ci haveva la dispositione, e non l'intendeva male (*4791*, December 17, 1685).

Grand Duke sent him 18 scudi.[156] Thus helped, he passed the winter in Padua, where his diligence and brilliancy delighted Montanari, who declared that he had never had so promising a pupil. This praise was duly passed on to Gondi by Teglia, who begged that La Rue might be enabled to complete his studies.[157] Unfortunately a little later, in forwarding letters from Montanari and La Rue, he said that the latter was "ormai capace d'ogni impiego," and the Grand Duke apparently concluded that further study was unnecessary and that La Rue could now support himself, for nothing more is heard of remittances from Florence.[158] Once more Teglia came to the rescue, and early in July, 1686, we find La Rue living as his guest in Venice, where he copied for the Grand Duke the plan of Navarino which Morosini had sent to the Senate.[159] Soon afterward Teglia suggested that La Rue might serve as a special messenger to bring promptly to Florence the eagerly awaited news of the capture of Buda by the Imperial army — a suggestion which was at once disapproved by Cosimo, who evidently was still determined to keep La Rue out of Tuscany.[160]

[156] Panciatichi to Teglia, December 8, 1685 (*3043*, fol. 1491r):

Volendo il Gran Duca Ser^mo^ che à Mon^r^ Bouchet che è di presente in Padova appresso il Sig^r^ Montanari, siano contati diciotto Scudi, V.S. ad ogni suo cenno potrà farline lo sborso la dove egli vorrà, onde deve essere sua cura che egli ne abbia l'opportuno avviso.

In his letter of December 15 (*ibid.*, fol. 467r) Teglia reported that he had notified La Rue of this order, and in his accounts for the period from September 1 to December 31 (*ibid.*, fol. 492r) is the entry, "Pagato al S^re^ Buchett d'ord^e^ di S.A.S. = 189" (i.e. 18 scudi = 189 Venetian ducats).

[157] *1656*, March 9, 1686:

L' aggiunta del Signore Buchett mi da l'honore di riverire V. Ill^ma^ con le presente righe accompagnando la sua, e godo farlo per dire a V. Ill^ma^ che fà miracoli questo fulmine d'Ingegno, apprendendo à volo ciò che l'Ecc^mo^ Lettore (Dottore?) gli mostra, per lo che gode in se stesso questo grand' huomo d'insegnare al S^r^ Rinaldo che non lo tiene occupato oziosamente. Merita però la continouazione dell' assistenza finche perfeziona i suoi studij che in poco batterà, e saria peccato l'abbandonarlo, confessando il Sig^re^ Dottore non havere conosciuto mai un tale spirito. Io da povero huomo ambisco servirlo, ma egli è troppo rispettoso. Ella non ha bisogno di stimoli per favorirlo ed io non m'estendo, perche lo conosco.

[158] Letter of April 20, 1686, to Gondi in *1656*. Teglia's accounts for the first six months of 1686 are not in *3043*, but his letters do not mention any payments to La Rue, nor is any payment recorded in the accounts from June to September. In fact he seems to have received no further aid from Cosimo until 1688; see below, note 184.

[159] Teglia to Panciatichi, July 3, 1686 (*3043*, fol. 807r):

Soggetto del presente incommodo à V. Ill^ma^ è l'aggiunta copia di pianta di Navarin, cavata dal Sig^re^ Buchett ospite mio, per ordine dell' Ecc^mo^ Coraro, savio del Collegio, dall' originale mandato quà dal Sig^re^ Cap^o^ Gnle in Senato, supponendo che possa essere tanto più grato, quanto sia frutto d'una pianta alimentate dalla preziosa rugiada di codesta Ser^ma^ Corte, e perche fin' hora è unica qui con le giuste misura di questo nobilissimo acquisto.

The receipt of the plan was duly acknowledged on July 13 (*ibid.*, fol. 2010r) but without any reference to La Rue. This plan seems to have disappeared

On Coraro cf. Foscarini, pp. 14–19.

[160] The suggestion is in a postscript in Teglia's hand to a letter written by an amanuensis on July 26, 1686 (*3043*, fol. 845r):

La quale supplico di perdono se non scritto di pugno . . . et honorarmi d' avviso se in caso di

Nothing more is heard of La Rue until the following March, when a letter from Teglia informed Panciatichi that in default of the necessary aid from the Grand Duke, La Rue to his great regret was compelled to abandon his studies, and had decided to join the Venetian army in the Levant, as Mutoni, Conte di San Felice, "Sopraintendente dell' Artigleria,"[161] had asked Dr. Montanari for his services as assistant.[162] Somewhat later, while engaged in filling bombs in the magazines at Sant' Antonio di Castello, he was so fortunate as to escape with only a slight wound from an explosion in one of the workrooms, which killed five men, seriously damaged the adjoining convent, and indeed narrowly missed destroying the whole stock of munitions.[163] Finally, after the usual delays which so hampered the Venetian operations in Greece, San Felice and his men sailed on June 28 to

spedizione per Buda si contenta che io spedisco il Sigre Buschett che stà quì da me, ò pure un Corriere pubblico con tal avviso.

Panciatichi replied on August 3 (*ibid.*, fol. 2013r):

Non resta già approvato à V.S., che dandosi il caso della caduta di essa Piazza [i.e., Buda], ella ne spedisca la noticia (*sic*) à questa volta con il mezzo del Sigre Buchett.

[161] See Beregani, II, p. 293; Paton, *The Venetians in Athens*, p. 13 with n. 17 on pp. 72, 73.

[162] *3043*, fol. 1285, March 26, 1687:

Vedendo il Sre Rinaldo Bouchett, mancarli il caritativo sussidio del Sermo Gran Duca per la necessaria sussistenza nella continovazione de' suoi studij, obligato d'abbandonarli con proprio rammarico, facendo in essi profitto, hà finalmente risolto di tentare sua fortuna cal portarsi per una Campagna in Levante, già che il Sigre Ingegniere Mutoni lo hà ricercato per aiuto al Sre Dre Montanari; e dovendo partire col pmo Convoio, e supplicando(?) per mezzo mio V. Illma d'intercederli da S.A.S. qualche aiuto per provedersi di ciò che li bisogna, e lo riceverà per carità; La quale à me pare ben impiegata in sollievo di giovane ben inclinato, e d'onorati sentimenti; per altro la supplico di perdono.

There is no indication that the appeal for aid was successful. Mutoni's request shows that La Rue had succeeded in his new profession. Whether he passed the winter at Padua and only his vacation with Teglia at Venice we do not know.

[163] Teglia, April 23, 1687 (*3043*, fol. 1323r-v):

Iheri successe qui per inopinato accidente un' orribile spettacolo, che (*fol. 1323v*) in prima faccia fu di gran terrore, sendosi accesa la polvere dove si lavoravono le Bombe nel territorio di Castello all' infima parte della Città, la quale si saria tutta incenerita, se nel magazino fusse stata maggiore copia di polvere; onde volò solo quel luogo con cio che vi era vicino, sendo restato sotto la caduta di quel coperto chiunque si trovava sotto di esso lavorando consistente in sette Bombisti, e diversi feriti, fra quali Monsr Bouchett, che vi perse il proprio vestito che portava, il Cappello, e la spada, sendo restato con lo stracio (*sic*) che vestiva lavorando in quelle materie, Lode a Dio, senza essere molto danneggiato, che leggiermente in un braccio, essendosi trovato in quel punto fuori del Magazino dove si lavoravano.

The "Avviso" of April 26 (*ibid.*, fol. 1332) records:

Martedi all' 20 hore al luogo di Sant' Antonio di Castello, ove sono alcuni gran Magazzini, mentre li Bombisti del Sigre Ingegner Muttoni travagliavano alla fabrica delle Bombe, una di queste prese, non si sà come, fuoco, restavano (restarono?) incenerite 5 Celle di quel Convento, la Libreria, e Refetorio, e 5 di quei Operarij estinti, oltre due rimasti arsinati, havendo corso pericolo due Magazzini di Bombe, Cariche, altro di polvere, con altri attrezzi.

A brief account of the disaster is also given by Guasconi to Bassetti (see above, p. 85) in a letter of April 23, 1687 (*1577*; No. 102):

Hieri pure mentre nel convento di S. Antonio a Castello in una stanza terrena ove si lavorono le spolette per le Bombe e vi si fà la composizione per empirle, nel empirne una come si costuma prese fuoco e con essa poi le altre, e abbrucio la stanza con i materiali e qualche porzione del Convento con la libreria di quelli Padri Canonici Lateranensi, mà a quello poteva essere non è successo gran Male.

join Morosini at Santa Maura[164] for the campaign which completed the conquest of the Morea in less than three weeks and ended with the capture of Athens.

At the outset the unexpected rapidity of the advance left the engineers little opportunity for effective service. In the decisive battle near Patras on July 24, with which the campaign opened, they can hardly have been actively engaged,[165] although it is probable that they were included in the landing party from the fleet with which Morosini, during the battle inland, occupied the almost undefended Turkish trenches along the shore. Nor was their aid later required in siege operations, since the defeated Turkish army fled in disorder over the Isthmus, abandoning without resistance Patras, Lepanto, the castles at the entrance of the Corinthian Gulf, and even the impregnable Acrocorinth. Thus master of the Morea, Morosini determined, as a prelude to new operations, to pass with the fleet from the Corinthian to the Saronic Gulf, leaving the army at Corinth. It would seem, however, that the engineers remained on board the ships, for we are told that when Morosini arrived at Monemvasia[166] and his summons to surrender was contemptuously rejected by the garrison, he ordered San Felice to punish this insolence by opening a bombardment from two "palandre"[167] sup-

"Restò ancora quattro Palandre," Foscarini (*op. cit.*, p. 259) says. (Cf. below, note 167.)

[164] The departure of a fleet of fourteen vessels with fifteen hundred infantry and cavalry, as well as Mutoni and his men, is mentioned by Teglia in a letter of June 28 (*3043*, fol. 1450v), and in the "Avviso" of the same date (*ibid.*, fol. 1451v).

[165] Only the field artillery was landed (cf. Paton, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, p. 63), and although the guns, dragged by the Greeks, accompanied the army in its night march (Turenne, *Relatione tradotta dal franzzese 3043*, fol. 1559r: "Havessimo otto pezzi di cannone tirati da Greci"), they are not mentioned in any contemporary account of the battle. Bianchi, undersecretary of Morosini, in his diary from Climino to Patras, July 20–25 (*1577*, after No. 150. Printed text, *Misc. Med. 667*, 16 August, 1687. Cf. Paton, *loc. cit.*, p. 61, n. 4), at the end of his account of the battle of Patras (July 24, ms., p. 9; printed text, p. 24) mentions, not the bombardment, but only the landing of volunteers from the galleys to occupy the Turkish trenches during the battle:

A loro maggior spavento fece Sua Eccelenza il Signor Capitano Generale nel tempo della Battaglia sbarcar grosso numero di Gente della Galera, e Navi che impossessatesi della Trinciera già sopranominata ritrovorono ivi vicini li due nominati pezzi di Bronzo et altri due poco di la discosti, che formavano la batteria gia mentovata.

Locatelli (I, p. 331) says the fleet bombarded the Turkish entrenchments; Beregani (*op. cit.*, II, p. 293) that the battery was silenced by "Galeazze" and "Venturieri," and that the sailors and soldiers of the galleys were landed; Foscarini (p. 327) and Garzoni (ed. 1709–1716, I, p. 211) say nothing of the preliminary bombardment, but that fifteen hundred men were landed.

[166] Morosini with the fleet and infantry reached Corinth on August seventh, and Königsmark with the cavalry, marching along the coast, on the tenth. On the nineteenth the fleet left to circumnavigate the Peloponnesus; Monemvasia was bombarded early in September, and on the thirteenth Morosini arrived at the Isthmus.

[167] The *palandra* was fitted to carry heavy artillery and ammunition. Originating in 1649, it was abandoned in 1689 for the *galea*, designed by Morosini and better adapted for transport and swift evolution. See F. Mutinelli, *Lessico Veneto* (Venice: 1852), p. 286; Foscarini, *op. cit.*, p. 259; A. Wiel, *The Navy of Venice* (London: 1910), p. 347.

ported by the guns of the fleet. Although the bombs set fire to the lower town, they were quite unable to damage seriously the citadel on its lofty rock, and Morosini, recognizing that the place could be reduced only by a protracted siege, gave up the attack and proceeded on his way. It is hard to see how such brief activity can have afforded much opportunity for winning individual distinction, yet La Rue, whether in the landing at Patras or the bombardment of Monemvasia, found a way to give proof of his military capacity, and Teglia wrote Gondi that if he were not too reckless, he would surely be rewarded by a deserved promotion.[168] From a later letter we learn that La Rue also succeeded in acquiring much valuable information about the battle of Patras, and was able to prepare a plan of the Isthmus.[169]

After the arrival of the expedition at Athens[170] he apparently added to his reputation by his conduct in the bombardment of the Acropolis. At least Teglia credits him with planting the first and second batteries along with San Felice, and directing their fire, after an initial failure, to ultimate success.[171] It must be admitted, however, that none of the other contemporary accounts of the siege say anything of this brilliant young subordinate. The official reports speak only of San Felice and the happy outcome of his efforts.[172] Other officers who were present dwell especially on the incompetence shown at first, since the mortars were so badly aimed that the bombs passed over the Acropolis and burst in

[168] *1656,* Letter of October 18, 1687: "Il nostro Sigre La Rue si và talmente segnalando nel Servitio militare, che se il troppo azzardo non li rompe le misure corre a gran passi verso il segno del merito per qualche buon avanzamento." This seems to be the first time that Teglia calls La Rue by his own name instead of "Buchet."

[169] See below, note 183.

[170] The expedition arrived at Piraeus on September 21. The army at once landed and marched to Athens. As the Turks on the Acropolis refused to surrender, preparations were immediately made for the bombardment, which began on the twenty-fifth from two batteries — one of six cannon, south of the Pnyx, the other of four mortars, north-west of the Areopagus (see Omont, *Athènes,* Pls. 33, 34, 45[1-3]). The former quickly silenced the Turkish guns in front of the Propylaea, but the bombs failed, and it seems that two of the mortars were transferred to a position east of the Acropolis. If the drawings can be trusted, it was apparently from this battery that on September 26 the bomb was fired which damaged the Parthenon. For the above dates see Laborde, II, p. 158; A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon* (Leipzig: 1871), pp. 345–346. Other accounts say that the trenches were drawn and the guns placed in position on the twenty-third and twenty-fourth, but that the actual bombardment began on the twenty-fifth.

[171] Teglia to Panciatichi, November 5, 1687:

La sorte di questo attacco (i.e., of the Acropolis) toccò al Sigre Rinaldo Buchett ò di vero La Rüe piantando esso la prima e la seconda Batteria, di commissione del suo Prefato (Prefetto?) Conte di S. Felice che gli sortì felicemente, doppo alquanti tiri a vuoto; per lo che ne riportò la gloria meritata (*3043,* fol. 1733v).

This is the last mention of La Rue in Teglia's correspondence with Panciatichi, and the only place where his true name occurs.

[172] See, for example, Laborde, II, pp. 158n. (Morosini) and 147n. (Avviso; the original, Venice, Archivio, *Inquisitori di Stato, Avvisi,* 1687–1711, is dated November 8).

the lower town, thus bringing on San Felice a severe reprimand from Königsmark, and when this produced no improvement, the threat of immediate removal — a disgrace from which he was saved only by the timely explosion of the bomb which injured the Parthenon.[173] In view of these severe criticisms of the conduct of the operations and the large place given to chance in determining the outcome, it seems quite possible that La Rue, although as a "bombista" he undoubtedly assisted in the bombardment, had much less responsibility than Teglia believed for its lamentable result.

Now settled in winter quarters at Athens La Rue turned his attention to the ancient monuments, very possibly under the influence of his fellow-countryman, Jean Giraud,[174] the English consul, and quickly prepared a description of the existing remains, which he doubtless hoped would be favorably received at Florence. It would seem, however, that a hastily written draft fell into other hands and found its way to Venice, where it appeared anonymously in December, 1687.[175] Whether because of this premature and unauthorized publication, which deprived him of any credit for his work, or — as is perhaps more probable — because after further study he recognized its defects, La Rue before leaving Athens completely rewrote and greatly improved his first effort, and also prepared a plan of Athens to accompany it.[176]

When the spring came, and the Venetian army, weakened by the plague, abandoned the deserted Athens and withdrew to Poros[177] to recuperate and await the arrival of reinforcements before entering on the new campaign, La Rue, whose term of enlistment had probably expired,[178] returned to Venice, where he arrived on May 8, 1688.[179] He brought with him testimonials from Morosini and other officers, but apparently little else as a reward for his services, for on his arrival he at once applied to Gondi for aid, and at the same time petitioned the Collegio

[173] Laborde, *loc. cit.*, pp. 141–146, n. 2.

[174] For Giraud see Collignon, *Giraud*, pp. 373–425.

[175] Teglia to Gondi, *1656*, December 21, 1687:

L'annessa relazione stampata è opera del Sigr^e^ Rinaldo, che capitate in altra mano l'ha publicata.

[176] Teglia to Gondi, Letter of June 19, 1688; see below, note 187.

[177] The army, after removing to the Peloponnesus the inhabitants of Athens, left Piraeus on April 8, and reached Poros the next day. See Morosini, Dispatch from Poros, dated April 15, 1688, Venice, Museo Civico. *MSS. Correr, 299 (772)*.

[178] See above, note 162: La Rue "ha finalmente risolto di tentare sua fortuna col portarsi *per una Campagna in Levante.*"

[179] Teglia to Gondi, *1656*, May 8, 1688:

Giunge qui stasera, pochi momenti sono, in buona salute il S^r^ Rinaldo La Rüe, fuggendo l'universal' influenza d'Atene e di Morea, e ne vedrà il riscontro dall' ingiunta sua lettera; Porta seco attestati del Ser^mo^ Capitano Generale ed altri Capi del proprio valore, onde V.S. Ill^ma^ ne goderà.

In view of the presence of plague in Athens La Rue must have had to pass some time in quarantine, so that he probably left Athens in March.

for regular employment with a fixed salary and rank.[180] His request seems to have been favorably received, for a month later we find him taking an examination before the Savii to qualify for an appointment as engineer of the Republic.[181] The test was successfully passed, and after he rejoined the army Morosini assigned him as an officer a salary of 50 ducats a month.[182] His appeal to Gondi, however, had brought no response; so on June 5 he wrote again, enclosing a plan of Negroponte, which he had prepared at Teglia's suggestion, for the Grand Duke.[183] This proof of his capacity was well received at Florence, and Gondi directed Alessandro Guasconi, a Venetian banker, to pay La Rue 100 Venetian ducats.[184] At the same time he wrote La Rue informing him of this gift, sending him a box of medicines (probably to protect him from the plague), and directing him to collect in Greece such antiquities as he could for the Grand Duke.[185] Be-

[180] Teglia to Gondi, *ibid.*, May 11, 1688:

Unita sarà una [lettera] del Sr Rinaldo, che la supplica di qualche favore; e lunedi sarà in Collegio Serenissimo con supplica per qualche impiego con assegnamento, e titolo.

[181] Teglia to Gondi, *1656*, June 19:

Egli stà sotto l'esame de Savij per passare alla qualità d'Ingegniere della Republica con buona speranza di conseguirla.

[182] Teglia to Gondi, November 13, 1688; cited below, note 191. It would seem, however, that he owed his promotion in large part to the mortality among the more experienced engineers; see below, note 190.

[183] Teglia to Gondi, *1656*, June 5, 1688:

Aggiungo l'annessa di Monsieü La Rüe con un bel disegnetto di Negroponte fatto in pianta da esso, che non sarà forsi discaro à S.A.S. e l'ho io à cio fare insinuato.

This plan must have been drawn at second hand, for La Rue cannot have seen Negroponte at this time; cf. the plan of the fort of Kara Baba and Negroponte by Verneda, drawn from information "dal Protto et Mureri d'Athene, che hanno lavorato alla construttione . . . del Sudetto Forte" (Venice, Bibl. Marc. *MSS. Ital. VII, 94*, pl. 107).

[184] Alessandro Guasconi was one of the firm of Guasconi and Verrazano, Cosimo's bankers in Venice. *1607*, fol. 331, June 12, 1688:

Mi ordina il Gran Ducca di dire a V.S. Illma che ella paghi a Monr de La Ruë che verrà à trovarla, scrivendoli io oggi di essere da lei a tal conto, la somma di Ducati cento Moneta di Venezia corrente, che pare à me se ben mi ricordo sia quella che spendevamo costà, et ne prenda quietanza da lui con dire di farlo per ordine che ne hà ricevuto, et dice inoltre S.A. che ella se ne intenda co'l Sigr Bassetti acciochè le sia bonificata tal partita.

Bassetti was the Abate Apollonio Bassetti, Segretario di Camera (see Paton, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, n. 3).

Guasconi to Gondi, *1656*, June 19, 1688: "Monsr de la Rue è poi stato a prendere li ducati 100, et io ne mando la riceuta al Sigr Bassetti." The receipt, signed by La Rue is in *1577*, no. 320, June 19, 1688, enclosed in Guasconi's letter to Bassetti (see above, p. 85). It seems that La Rue collected the money as soon as he received Gondi's letter.

[185] Teglia, *1656*, Letter of June 19, 1688:

Al Sigre de la Rue ho, subito giunto, fatto havere la Cassetta rimedij che V. Illma gli ha fatto favore d'intercederli dal Sermo Gr. Duca, e la lettera stessa di che pure l'ha favorito nel tempo stesso di così bel tenore, che non sò dire di quel sollievo, e consolazione li siano state le grazie di S.A.S. nell' occasione di riportarsi all' Armata, e più di tutto l'espressioni della clementissima propensione dell' A.S. per i suoi vantaggi. M'ha conferito l'ordine che tiene di transmettermi di Levante à suo tempo ciò che le riescirà

fore he received this letter La Rue had made another bid for favor by sending to Florence a package of coins which he had brought back from Greece,[186] and he now entrusted to Teglia the rough drafts of his accounts of the battle of Patras and of the monuments of Athens, as well as finished plans of the Isthmus and of Athens. The description of the battle was most complete, according to Teglia, and by the minute knowledge shown of every detail, even of confidential orders, had amazed the Sienese noble, G-B. Cungi Petrucci, who as an officer in the Venetian service had himself played a prominent part in the victory.[187] The plans and fair copies of the texts were duly sent by Teglia to Florence, and brought La Rue new assurances of favor from Gondi.[188] Unfortunately only the description of Athens is known to have survived.

Early in July La Rue left Venice[189] to join the army in the disastrous attack on Negroponte, which ended in total failure, after the loss of a large part of the army and many of the best officers. Among the victims was La Rue, who was mortally wounded on September 13, 1688, while engaged in laying out new trenches under a heavy Turkish infantry fire.[190] The news of his death reached

di raccorre d'antico da quelle Rovine, dolendosi di non haver più la facilità passata in Athene, hora distrutta d'ordine del Sr Capitano Generale delle più belle fabbriche atterrate con sommo dispiacere di quella Greca Nobiltà, e de' Turchi medesimi che hanno haouto (*sic*) maggiore venerazione à quelle belle memorie.

It is hardly necessary to add that "distrutta" greatly exaggerates the damage wrought by Morosini.

[186] Teglia to Gondi, *ibid.*, June 12, 1688:

Del Sr Rinaldo accludo l'ingiunta pesante con alcune medaglie d'antichità.

[187] Teglia to Gondi, *ibid.*, June 19, 1688:

M'ha consegnato gl' abbozzi di due relazioni fatte da esso l'una d'Athene, l' altra della Battaglia di Patrasso, la più giusta che si possa dire, la quale veduta iheri qui da me dal Sr Cungi che fù su(de?)'l fatto restò stordito come possa egli haver havuta la notizia si distinta d'ogni particolare anco delle commissioni più segrete; è breve l'una, e l'altra, ma buone ambidue, che nella ventura Settimana si vedrà siano copiate in pulito e transmesse a V. Illma . . .

Se saranno in tempo finiti alcuni disegni che va travagliando per mandarli parimenti, le consegnerò con la presente al Procaccio che torna. . . . (Postscript) Con l'ingiunta lettera del Sr Rinaldo, vengono i due disegni dell' Istimo, e d'Atene che ho posti in un Cannone di Latta perche venghino meglio custodite le Carte.

[188] Teglia to Gondi, *ibid.*, July 3, 1688.

Il Sigre Rinaldo della Rüe, che ancora non è imbarcato, ha ricevuto la lettera di V. Illma, che le conferme l'honore delle sue riverite grazie; ne richiedendo replica particolare, lascia d' incomodarla, e m'impone di riverirla, come fò in suo nome, ringraziandola di nuove della mercede che S.A. gli ha fatto.

This "mercede" seems to be the hundred ducats received on June 19, rather than a new gift.

[189] He probably went with the reinforcements which sailed from Venice on July 6 (*3044*, fol. 409r, Teglia to Panciatichi, July 7, 1688) and joined the army at Negroponte, since Morosini left Poros for Negroponte on July 7.

[190] Locatelli, II, p. 128:

Dovendosi lavorare anco sotto il Moschetto nemico, dal quale colpiti l'Ingegnier Samuel Redolfo

Teglia only two months later, and the letter that he then wrote to Gondi[191] bears witness to his sincere grief at the untimely end of one for whom he had come to feel — as many passages in his letters show — not only esteem but real affection.[192] Six months later he learned that La Rue's scanty effects had been sold and the proceeds sent to his former employer, Pietro Grimani, and also that after providing for the proper masses, there would remain a small sum for his sister.[193] It proved, however, no easy matter to find Mademoiselle de La Rue, for her brother, who was certainly fully informed about her affairs and had apparently written her from Athens or during his last stay in Venice,[194] had kept his knowl-

Miler morì, restando gravamente feriti Rinaldo della Ruè, & il Capitanio Antonio de Minatori, che andavano con l'assistenze necessarie disponendo la forma di detta Traversa.

See also Foscarini, p. 396; Garzoni (ed. 1705–1716), I, 281.

[191] *1656,* November 13, 1688:

Sentirà V.S. Illma certe con dispiacere il funesto avviso che le porto della morte del Sr Rinaldo de la Rüe, perchè sò che lo amava, e conosceva il suo talento. Egli si sacrificò il di 13 Sette a' lavori di Negroponte colpito di moschettata Turchesca, che introdotte (?) le spasime nel medicarlo. È caduto questo spiritoso suggetto su l'auge di sua fortuna, perche haveva concetto nell'animo del Sermo Capitano Generale, che l'haveva già proviste di 50 di questi ducati al mese come Ingegnere. Il Sigre Dio l'habbia riceuto nella sua santa grazia.

Gondi sent the news to Zipoli, who received it very calmly (*4793,* December 6, 1688)

Della morte di Mr de la Rüe, che sia in Cielo, me ne dolgo assai. A lui è arrivato quello, che di ordinario arriva à tutti i poveri huomini, che quando hanno bene stentato, et poi pervenuti in qualche stato di commodità, ò moiono, ò si trovano più di dolori. Io m'informerò della sua sorella, che non so dove sia et a questa ò al suo paese faro sapere la sua morte, perche credo, che il Padre sia morto.

[192] *1656,* November 27, 1688:

Una sola sorella era rimasta al povero Rinaldo impiegata presso la Serma Gran Duchessa Regnante, poiche un' anno fà mancò il Padre, ed io ne havevo già di qui avvisato il giorno avanti la medesima, che sò si vuol disperare dalla passata, havendo concepito delle speranze del defunto fratello; che per segno di sua salvazione posso dire a V. Illma haverlo più volte veduto in sogno danzar meco tutto giulivo in abito bianco doppo la notizia della sua morte che voglia Dio sia vivo in Cielo.

Ibid., January 14, 1690, written after receiving a letter from Mademoiselle de La Rue (see below, note 194):

Pare che ella si lagni della mia finta amicizia col medesimo (i.e., La Rue), il quale hò trattato da figliolo proprio in Casa e fuori senza riguardo e Dispendio, ed incomodo; ma egli meritava ben più per le sue abilità, concorrendo anche in ciò il maggiore interesse di meritare al V. Illma che mi fece l'honore di raccomandarmelo, e l'ho tenuto sempre in Casa molti mesi per volta quando era senza impiego.

To Gondi, *ibid.,* July 1, 1684:

Egli stesso può referire la passione che hò per lui, e le diligenze che vò facendo per esso, che goderei vederlo consolato.

See also above, notes 149–151, 157.

[193] The first mention of the baggage is in the letter of April 16, 1689:

La sua Valige con le sue robe resta (the last letter is blurred and might be *e* or *i*) in Levante appresso un Nobile Venetiano, che credo sia morto ancor esso di malattia.

On May 28, 1689, Teglia had definite information:

Sono venuti di Levante all' Eccmo Se Pietro Grimani che fù già Padrone del povero Rinaldo, le notizie della dispositione di sue bazzecole; e S. Eccelenza mi ha detto che vi sarà qualcosetta per la sorella; onde starà ben' il sapere dove si trova per farli pervenire il residuo d'un poco di bene per l'anima del defunto. A suo tempo sen' attenderà l'avviso da V. Illma.

[194] On October 20, 1689, Mademoiselle de La Rue wrote Teglia that she had received no let-

edge to himself, and Teglia believed that she was still in the service of the Grand Duchess from whose anger, as Gondi well knew, she had for more than two years been in hiding.[195] In fact it was not until April, 1691, that Teglia received from Gondi an address to which the money might be sent.[196] His letter of thanks for this information contains his last mention of La Rue or of his sister.

ters from her brother for more than fifteen months (*1656*, enclosed with Teglia's letter to Gondi, dated January 14, 1689/90). Hence his letter to her must have been written soon after arriving in Venice or perhaps before leaving Athens.

[195] We have seen that to induce La Rue to go to Martinique the Grand Duchess had agreed to arrange a marriage for his sister, and in fact before leaving Paris Gondi reported that the contract had been duly signed by both parties (*4769; 4782;* March 6, 1682). Marguerite provided the promised dowry of 100 "dobbie" and also the trousseau of the bride, but stipulated in the contract that she should never come to Montmartre nor write to any of the household. When, however, Mademoiselle de La Rue found that her intended husband was both deformed and a widower, she absolutely refused to carry out the contract; in this she was at fault since the dowry had been already paid. Thereupon the Grand Duchess, naturally angry at this disobedience, forced her to enter "nella Carità," alleging that only thus could she be saved from ruin (Zipoli, *4791*, May 14, 1682). This was probably the "hôpital de la Pitié" on the Ile St.-Louis, where many young boys and girls were kept and employed in useful and remunerative work (G. Brice, *Description nouvelle . . . de Paris*. Paris: 1684. 1st ed., I, p. 246). The Charité at that time was only a hospital for the sick poor, who were cared for by the Brothers of St.-Jean-de-Dieu (*idem, ibid.*, II, p. 188). In November the Grand Duchess transferred her to the convent at Chelles (Zipoli, *4791*, November 30, 1682). Three years later she was removed to the "Casa Pia" near St.-Sulpice, an institution founded by Marguerite, her sister and other ladies (*idem, ibid.*, June 27, 1682), where she was forbidden to converse with her companions and to write or receive any letters, a prohibition which led Zipoli to beg Gondi to impress upon La Rue in Venice that any attempt to communicate with his sister was fraught with danger for her and for himself, and also, as he is careful to add, for Zipoli and Cintia (*idem, ibid.*, November 5 and December 17, 1685). Such rigorous treatment was more than Mademoiselle de La Rue could endure and in the following June she escaped (*idem, 4792*, July 1, 1686), and successfully eluded all Marguerite's attempts to recapture her (*idem, ibid.*, August 12, 1686). Indeed so effectually did she conceal herself that not only did Teglia's letters fail to reach her, but Zipoli's efforts to communicate with her after hearing of her brother's death were equally fruitless (*idem, 4793*, December 6, 1688; May 9, 1689). It thus happened that in January, 1690, Teglia received a letter, written in the previous October, in which Mademoiselle de La Rue attributed her failure to hear from her brother to Teglia's negligence in forwarding letters, a charge that deeply wounded him, as appears from his letter to Gondi of January 14 enclosing the letter he had just received (see above, note 192). She explained in her letter that she had been married, and gave an address to which letters might be sent, but which, in view of Teglia's later appeals to Gondi, must have proved of no value.

[196] Teglia to Gondi, *1656*, April 7, 1691:

Della sorella del povero Rinaldo non se ne puol' havere notizia, e questo Cav^le^ che havessi qualche cosa da darli mene ricerca ogni dì, onde saria doppio bene il saperlo. Io di nuovo le supplico.

Idem, ibid., April 21, 1691:

Torno à incomodare V. Ill^ma^ con ingiunta, e à ringraziarla dell' avviso del luogo dove si trova Madama già de la Rue, sorella del fù S^r^ Rinaldo; e me ne servirò col Cavaliere che hà la premura di solevarsi di cio che dice havere di sua ragione che vedrò d'i(?)ntender che cosa sia per notificarla.

II

RELATION DE LA MARTINIQUE[1]

(*fol. 1r*) Nous mismes à la voile de la rade de Dieppe le 7e may, 1681, à quatre heures du soir, et fismes nostre route, au sud[2] sur ouest, avec un peu de vent arrière. Sur le soir il freschit un peu et nous continuasmes nostre route heureusement iusque à la hauteur des Assores, ou nous trouviasmes la mer grosse et beaucoup de vent; il est vray qu'il portoit touiours à la route. Ce temps là nous dura pendant trois iours, ce qui nous fatigua beaucoup, n'estant pas acoutumés à la mer; cependant nostre vaisseau qui n'estoit que de soixante tonneaux et qui[3] avoit esté mal radoubé pâtit beaucoup de ce temps là et faisoit beaucoup d'eau, ce qui obligea le charpentier de le visiter par tout. Il découvrit en fin deux voyes d'eau qu'on raccommoda le mieux qu'on peût. Il se rompit ensuitte deux baux et le vaisseau commencoit à s'entreouvrir par les portehaubans; mais nous trouvasmes la mer fort belle, ainsy nous ne nous mismes pas beaucoup en peine; il est vray que si le mauvais temps nous avoit surpris dans la manche nous nous serions perdus.

A la hauteur des Canaries nous recontrasmes (*fol. 1v*) une flotte de vaisseaux flamands et hollandois qui passoit le destroit. Elle estoit composée de 70 voiles et quatre gros vaisseaux de soixante pièces de canon pour escorte crainte des Turcs. Nous abordasmes un vaisseau de la flotte pour sçavoir s'il portoit à nostre route, mais ayant appris que non nous la quittasmes et la perdismes de veüe. Le lendemain matin ayant fait le surouest pour eviter la rencontre de Saltins[4] qui croisent à la hauteur de Madère, n'estant pas assés forts, et presentement que nous sommes arrivés tout le monde s'estonne que nous n'ayons esté enlevés ou que nous n'ayons pery ayant un si petit vaisseau et si mal équipé.

Nous eusmes trois iours de calme soubs le tropique du Cancer, où nous nous divertismes assés bien pour le babtesme de plusieurs qui n'avoint iamais passé les tropiques; cette cérémonie s'observe sans réserve d'aucun, et l'on est mouillé d'importance.[5] En fin après trois iours de calme nous eusmes un peu de vent qui nous fit changer de climat et nous osta hors des calmes. Nous eusmes touiours beau temps jusque à la hauteur des isles, où nous fusmes incommodés[6] des grains qui viennent de temps en temps (*fol. 2r*). Entres autres nous en eusmes un si furieux que nous pensasmes périr. Nous portions toutes nos

[1] *4791*, No. 2, without title and included with Letter 6. See Letter 8. For the revised version see Letters 10 and 12. See also above, notes 93, 110, 152.

[2] *Ms.*, sus.

[3] *Ms.*, que.

[4] *Ms.*, Sallins (?).

[5] This ceremony resembled that now common on crossing the equator. It is described at length by J.-B. du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadaloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l'Amérique* (Paris: 1654), pp. 79–81; *idem, Histoire générale des Antilles* (Paris: 1667–1671), II, pp. 46–48. A brief description is also given by Maurile de St.-Michel, *Voyage des Isles Camercanes en l'Amérique, qui font partie des Isles Occidentales* (Le Mans: 1652), p. 14:

Remarquez icy que les Nautouniers ont coustume de baptiser superstitieusement ceux qui passent la premiere fois sous le Tropique et l'Equateur: C'est pourquoy aprés le repas on appella nos Passagers l'un aprés l'autre, & on leur jetta de l'eau sur la teste les marquant au front d'une croix noire, et leur faisant jurer sur un livre qu'ils feroient pratiquer la mesme ceremonie en pareille occasion. De plus qu'ils gratifieroient les Matelots de quelques presents, lesquels ils demanderent à ceux qui avoient argent, vin, ou eau de vie, mais ils n'eurent rien de nous, car nous n'avions ny l'un ny l'autre.

The author was one of a small band of missionaries.

[6] *Ms.*, jncommodés.

voiles, à la réserve du grand perroquet, tout l'équipage estoit entre deux ponts, et le grain nous surprit avec tant de violence que le vaisseau pensa tourner et nous eusmes toutes les peines du monde à amener le grand hunier; en fin Dieu nous garantit pour le coup. Nous eusmes trois grains de cette force ce iour là, mais qui ne nous firent pas de mal parceque l'équipage veillot un peu mieux. Nous navigasmes ainsy quarante iours, au bout des quels le capitaine et le pilote parurent chagrins, et nous ne l'estions pas moins. Il nous avoit promis que nous verrions la Martinique le 36 iour de nostre voyage, et nous avions desia passé huit iours depuis le terme sans pouvoir voir terre, ce qui obligea le pilote a dire que nous estions depassés. L'eau commençoit à nous manquer, et il falloit courir au nord ou au sud pour attraper terre. Nous fusmes trois iours sans prendre hauteur, ce qui empeschoit de sçavoir ou nous estions.

En fin après avoir mis trois nuits à la Cappe de peur de nous briser contre des roches, ne voyant[7] point terre on prit conseil; et (*fol. 2v.*) on se résolut de courir au nord pour attraper terre. Ce qu'on fit, et le lendemain matin à la pointe du iour nous fusmes agréablement surpris d'entendre crier terre; ie me levay au plus viste, et le vis à quatre lieües de nous. Nous courusmes dessus pour la reconoistre, tous voulant que ce fut la Martinique et le pilote le voulut gager; il n'y eut que le charpentier qui fut d'avis contraire. En effet quand nous l'eusmes reconnüe nous vismes que nous estions trompés et que c'estoit la Désirade. Nous revirasmes de bord et fismes le sud pour joindre la Marie Galande que nous aperceusmes en mesme temps. Nous la costoiasmes et sur le midy nous vismes la Dominique qui est a quatorze lieües de la Martinique au nord-est. Le lendemain matin nous vismes la Martinique qui est une terre fort haute, et fusmes à louvier[8] (*sic*) et courir la bordée jusque à cinq heures du soir, auparavant d'attraper le mouillage. En fin nous descendismes à terre avec bien du plaisir ayant passé quarante cinq iours en mer avec assés d'incommodité et de peine.[9]

(*fol. 3r*) La Martinique est a 45 degrés 30 minutes de longitude ouest, et quatorze degrés trente minutes[10] de latitude, ce que rend les iours égaux aux nuits.[11] Elle a environ

[7] *Ms.*, estions, en fin . . . roches. New paragraph: ne voyant.

[8] *Ms.*, fusme. Louvier = louvoyer.

[9] As La Rue sailed on May 7, he must have landed on June 21 or 22. Father Maurile de St.-Michel in 1646 sailed from St. Nazaire on July 18 (*op. cit.*, pp. 3–5), sighted La Désirade, Marie Galante and Dominique on August 30 (p. 24), and finally landed at Martinique on September 1 (p. 26). He landed "au Cul de sac, autrement dit Fort St. Martin," i.e., the later Fort Royal, now Fort de France. "Nous allasmes une lieüe au travers des montagnes, qu'ils appellent mornes. . . . Nous arrivasmes enfin à la Caze du Gouverneur qu'ils nomment le Fort sainct Pierre." His account of the discomforts of the voyage makes even La Rue's expressions appear moderate.

[10] Martinique is really situated at about 61° W. long. and about 14°, 40′ N. lat. The *Anonymous of 1660* (J. Rennard, *Tricentenaire des Antilles*, Thonon-les-Bains: 1935, p. 125, from a manuscript in the Archives Nationales, *Colonies, C8 B1*) says:

> La Martinique est située au 14e degré et 30 minutes de latitude septentrionale et au 319e degré de longitude orientale, faisant passer le premier méridien par Ténériffe . . . Elle a environ vingt lieues de longeur sur une largeur inégale, dont la plus grande est de plus de huit lieues et elle en a environ 50 du circuit.

[11] P. Jacques Bouton [S.J.], *Relation de l'Établissement des Français depuis l'an 1635 en l'île Martinique* (Paris: 1640), reprinted in J. Rennard, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–82; p. 46: "nos jours ordinaires sont de 12 heures et n'ont point inégalité fort sensible." Bouton's is said to be the earliest account of the islands (A. Martineau et L.-Ph. May, *Trois siècles d'histoire antillaise — Martinique et Guadeloupe de 1635 à nos jours*, Paris: 1935, p. 41).

soixante cinq lieües de circuit et est divisée en trois parties, sçavoir, la Cabesterre, qui est une pointe qui s'avance en mer et que nous vismes la première, et la Basse-terre, qui est celle ou nous demeurons, et le Cul-de-Sac ou le Fort Royal,[12] où le Comte de Blénac, viceroy de toutes les isles,[13] fait sa résidence ordinaire. Toute l'isle est montagneuse mais fort fertile et presque toute habitée à la réserve des bois,[14] et produit quantité de cannes de sucre qu'on coupe tous les quinze mois,[15] et qui est presque tout le commerce de l'isle

[12] Writers before La Rue prefer to divide the island into two parts, Cabesterre and Basse-terre, considering the cul-de-sac of Fort Royal as a subdivision of the latter. See Bouton, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47:

L'île est divisée en deux parties: l'une qu'on appelle *la Cabesterre,* qui est au-dessus du vent, et possedée par les Caraïbes; l'autre, peuplée des Français, appelée basse-terre ou les grands sables. . . . Nous y avons un grand cul-de-sac où est le fort royal et un fort beau lieu pour le carénage des vaisseaux.

Anon., 1660, op. cit., p. 125:

On la divise, ainsi que toutes les autres Antilles, en deux parties, savoir: en Cabesterre, qui est la côte exposée aux vents d'Est et Nord-Est appelés alisés, et qui y sufflent continuellement; et en Basse-terre qui est la partie opposée et laquelle, étant toute converte de hautes montagnes, jouit d'une mer aussi tranquille que celle de la Cabesterre est agitée. — *Idem,* p. 130: La partie la plus habitée de la Martinique e[s]t la côte de la mer de la Basse-Terre qui a bien huit lieues de long sur une de large. . . . Cette Basse-Terre se divise en quatre quartiers, en chacun desquels il y a une église paroissale administré par les Jésuites, une place d'Arme environnée de magasins, un corps de garde et le poids ou douane pour les marchandises. . . . L'on rencontre à une lieue du pays habité, un golfe nommé le cul de sac Royal; dedans lequel il y a encore un autre petit golfe appelé le Carénage. C'est là où tous les vaisseaux qui se trouvent dans les autres îles, viennent se retirer durant les grandes tempêtes qu'ils appellent ouragans. Ce port étant tellement à couvert de tous les vents, que les moindres barques y sont en très grande assurance.

See also Jean François Robert, Intendant des îles de l'Amérique, *Mémoire de l'état présent de la Martinique,* 21 avril, 1696 (sent to Louis Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain, ministre de la marine et des colonies), published P. Margry, *Relations et Mémoires inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la France dans les pays d'outre-mer* (Paris: 1867), p. 241:

On l'appelle Capesterre, parce que cette coste est au vent de l'isle: elle est exposée depuis l'est-nord-est jusqu'au nord, et c'est de là que dependent ordinairement les vents qui regnent en ce pays-cy.

See also Du Tertre, *op. cit.* (*Antilles*), I, 98–99 (wrongly numbered 96), map.

[13] Charles Louis de Bourbon, comte de Blénac, was appointed Gouverneur-général des îles d'Amérique in 1677. He returned to France in 1690 on account of his health, but resumed his office in 1692 and remained in Martinique until his death at Fort Royal in 1696. The growth of Fort Royal was due to his efforts. He built the fort and endeavored to transfer the seat of government from Saint-Pierre (Cf. Margry's copy of his letter in *Nouv. acq. fr. 9323,* fol. 453), a plan which was strongly and successfully opposed by the Intendants. See Robert, p. 243:

Il n'y a point encore d'endroit dans toute l'isle qu'on puisse dire estre plus peuplé que le bourg St.-Pierre; en effet c'est le seul de l'isle où l'on voi du monde, du mouvement, du commerce, et on ne trouve encore que l'idée d'un désert dans tous les autres quartiers (also pp. 232–239, 251–261).

[14] This is an exaggeration. Even in 1696 the settlements were confined to the coast. Robert, p. 231:

Il n'y a pas encore le 30e partie du continent de l'isle, qui soit habitüée, desfrichée et cultivée, et tout le terrain occupé est sur les bords de la mer. . . . tout le centre de l'isle est inconnu; personne n'y a jamais esté, et les sauvages même ne l'ont point habité.

[15] *Ms.,* coupe trois fois l'anée. "Trois . . . l'anée" has been erased, and "tous . . . mois" written as an interlinear correction in fainter ink but in the same hand. See Maurile de St.-Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 119:

Le sucre est la premiere marchandise de nos Isles qui me vient en l'esprit, Monsieur le General seul en retire tous les ans la valeur de trente mille escus.

avec de l'indigo.[16] Il n'y croist ny vin ny bled,[17] et la raison en est que le pays estant fort chaud(e) et dans une égalité de saisons le bled ne peut meurir, et d'abord qu'il est en herbe se seche au lieu de ietter son épy. Il en est de mesme de la vigne et l'on voit en mesme temps la vigne en fleur, du verius, et du raisin meur.[18] De tous les fruits d'Europe il n'y a icy que la figue et le raisin; il n'y croist ny pommes ny poires. Il y a pourtant une espèce de pomme qu'ils apellent pomme d'acaiou,[19] elle a beaucoup d'eau, mais elle est

[16] The first colonists devoted themselves to the cultivation of tobacco (*pétun*), of which La Rue makes no mention. In 1639 Louvilliers de Poincy writes: "Nos Français ne savent ni veulent savoir que faire du petun si quelqu'un (qui eut les reins forts) ne montre le chemin, ce que je dis pour le rocou et le coton se doit entendre pour le sucre pour le manufacture duquel se trouve une autre difficulté qui est la faute d'eau" (Rennard, *op. cit.*, p. 104). Bouton in 1640 (*op. cit.*, pp. 63–64) says:

Le petun a été jusqu' à présent la seule marchandise qu'on a rapportée en France de cette île et des autres que les Français habitent. Il est excellent en nôtre île, mais la plus grande partie n'est pas de garde passé six mois, et il est aussi fort léger qui est cause que les habitants n'y peuvent pas gagner principalement en ce temps que cette herbe est à vil prix. . . . Mais le sucre vaudrait mieux au goût de plusieurs que tout cela. Les cannes sauvages et qui sont crues sans culture ni artifice, sont belles; on en a fait l'expérience qui a bien reussi. . . . Quand les moulins seront faits, cette île sera plus considérable que par le passé. Le rocou pourrait aussi apporter du profit.

By 1646 indigo had become important and the sugar industry was fairly established (Rennard, *op. cit.*, pp. 115–121). In 1646 Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 63) reports: "Une des choses les plus cheres de ce païs, est l'Indigo, dont nos principaux François faisoient grand trafic de mon temps"; and (pp. 120–121), "Ie ne dis rien du cotton; de l'Indigo; du gingembre . . . des Perroquets de la Martinique . . . Ie passe le Petun, dont les Anglois, François, & Hollandois viennent faire un tel trafic, qu'il est difficile de le croire." Father Jean Hallay, S.J., *Relation (1657)* (published A. Savini, *Revue rétrospective, 2e Série*, VI, 2 [1902], pp. 73–95, from Bibl. Nat., *Moreau* 841), p. 74: "C'est donc à ces isles que nos François . . . se sont attachés pour la seule consideration du petun, ou tabac, . . . puis des cannes de sucre qu'ils y ont cultivé."

[17] O.F., blet = blé.

[18] Bouton, p. 55:

Aucun en (i.e., du blé) ayant seulement jeté quelques grains deux ou trois doigts avant dans la terre, ont vu paraître en peu de temps des pailles hautes de 12 ou 15 pieds avec un épi au bout sans grain, qui leur a fait juger que ce pays n'était pas propre pour le froment. Father Hallay (p. 78) in 1657 shows the development of the new industry: "Le bled n'y a encore pas réussi, ny aucun fruict tendre ny à noyau. . . . Le profit est si grand au petun et sucre, et d'ailleurs on leur aporte de l'Europe des farines, vins, huilles et beurres à si bon compte, qu'ils y gaignent le double de n'y vivre que de traffic." *Anon., 1660* (p. 127): "Les cannes de sucre, le tabac, l'indigo, le gingembre, le coton et le rocou, dont se fait le plus grand trafic des îles, croisent ici à merveille."

The earlier accounts differ from La Rue as to the vine. Bouton (p. 55):

Disons ici à l'occasion de la boisson dont nous avons parlé, que la vigne y croit fort bien; elle porte deux ou trois fois l'année pourvu qu'on la taille à temps et fort près; et si on avait l'expérience des façons qu'il faut lui donner et le choix des lieux où on la plante et du temps de la planter et tailler, elle porterait ses raisins un peu plus mûrs que ceux qu'on voit et dont j'ai gouté à Saint-Christophe. He says nothing about wine. — Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 73): "La Vigne croist & porte icy fruict facilement, voire 2 fois l'an, si on la taille de fort prés. J'y ay mangé du raisin noir au mois de Fevrier, & Monsieur le General (Poincy, 'bailly des isles' for St.-Christophe and vicinity; see Hallay, p. 76) fist faire de nostre temps un stoc de vin par curiosité, mais il ne fut pas trouvé bon: Le raisin mesme n'y est pas si bon qu'en France." — Hallay (p. 78): "On y a bien faict venir de la vigne, qui y porte trois fois l'an, mais tousjours my en fleur, my en raisin, my meur, et my pourry."

[19] Bouton (pp. 56, 57):

Il y a des acajous de jardins bien différents de ceux du même nom qui sont dans les bois dont nous parlerons plus bas. Ce sont des arbres médiocres qui ont une feuille assez grande et font un grand

acre; (*fol. 3v*) la pomme porte a son extremité une noix qu'on apelle aussy noix d'acaiou; le dedans a le goût de l'amande. Il y a une espèce de cerises qui sont bonnes confites, quantité d'ananas[20] qui est un très bon fruit et croist sur une tige comme nos artichaux; le fruit en est pourtant différent et ressemble parfaittement à une pomme de pin quant a l'escorse; au dessus du fruit il y a une autre tige semblable à une couronne imperiale, le fruit a presque le goût de nos fraises et l'on le met en tranches avec du vin et du sucre. Il y a aussy quantité de bananes qui est un fruit long et croist sur un arbre qui a les feuilles fort longues et fort larges semblables aux pas-d'asne; ce fruit est à mon goût insipide et sent le navet en le mangeant.[21] Ils ont encore quantité de figues du pays que

ombrage. Ils portent des pommes douces et de bon goût qui ont quantité d'eau pour désaltérer. Quelques-uns en font du vin qui n'est pas de garde. Au bout ou à la tête de ces pommes, il y a un petit fruit qu'on appelle noix d'acajou; il a une écorce dure et épaisse; on en tire de l'huile qui est bonne à ce qu'on dit, pour les dartres, et le fruit qui est au-dedans est petit, mais meilleur que nos noix et nos châtaignes.

Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 66) seems to have used Bouton:

Il y a des Acajoux de Jardin qui portent un fruict plein d'eau, dont quelques-uns font du breuvage, & d'autres sauvages, dont le fruict s'appelle noix d'Acajou, qui a l'écorce fort dure & épaisse; le bon est au dedans assez petit, et on en tire de l'huille, qu'on dit estre efficace contre les dartres. On tire des planches du bois de couleur rouge & de bonne senteur de l'Acajoux.

[20] Bouton (p. 57):

Mais il faut avouer que ces îles ont le roi des fruits et celui qu'on croit qui n'a point en France d'égal en bonté qu'on appelle *ananas*. Il sort du coeur d'une plante en herbe dont les feuilles longues et étroites s'étalent en rond comme l'artichaut. Il a la figure d'une pomme de pin, mais il est beaucoup plus gros, la peau rude et divisée par carrés tout de même que cette pomme; au pied, quatre ou cinq rejetons qui servent de graine, qu'on plante à la pleine lune pour en avoir du fruit au bout de l'an. Sa couleur est verte tirant un peu sur le jaune quand il est en maturité. Il porte sur sa tête une tuffe ronde de feuilles qui lui sert comme de couronne, pour marque de son avantage et excellence sur tous les autres fruits. Son goût a quelque rapport avec celui de la poire de bon chrétien, mais il est plus sucré et a plus d'eau qui est très agréable. Il y a une sorte de ces ananas qu'on appelle ananas de pite, d'autant que de la feuille les sauvages tirent un fil qu'on appelle fil de pite, qui est fort bon et sans comparaisons plus beau que le plus beau que nous ayions et les ouvrages qu'on en fait peuvent passer pour des ouvrages de soie.

Maurile de St.-Michel (pp. 65–66):

Le meilleur de tous les fruicts de ce pays, c'est l'*Ananats*, qui croist en une plante fort basse, qui ne passe iamais la hauteur de trois ou quatre pieds; elle se garnist par le pied comme un buisson: les feuilles en sont estroites & longues, piquantes, & espanduës ça et là. Il vient dans cette plante comme un Artichaut, mais il ressemble à une pomme de Pin, fors qu'il grossist davantage: Il est jaune par dedans quand il est meur, & fort tendre. Ie trouve qu'il a goust de poire de bon chrestien: Il est couronné d'une touffe ronde de fueilles pour marque de sa royauté sur tous les autres fruicts, de ce païs: On le faict confire, & Monsieur le General (Poincy; see above note 18) m'a dit en avoir souvent envoyé de confit au diffunct Roy (Louis XIII). . . . Quelques Sauvages en font du vin, qui est meilleur que le cidre.

Anon. 1660 (p. 127): L'ananas emporte le prix, soit parmi les plantes, soit parmi les fruits, tant pour ce qui est de la beauté que pour sa délicatesse et sa douceur qui ne se peuvent jamais assez exprimer. De sorte que l'on peut avec raison l'appeler le roi de tous les fruits de la terre.

[21] Bouton (p. 57):

Les bananiers sont de la hauteur de 15 ou 20 pieds, ont le tronc toujours vert composé de diverses peaux comme nos oignons. La feuille large d'un pied et longue de 6 ou 7. Ils ne portent du fruit qu'en une seule tige qui est toute revêtue de bananes; il y en a bien quelquefois 80 ou 100 et on appelle cela un regime de bananes. Ce fruit est long d'un demi-pied, jaune au dedans et de bon goût. On en met par quartier sécher au soleil; ils les appellent des bananes confites qui ont le goût de dattes et meilleur.

Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 64):

Il y a un arbre qu'on appelle Bananier, haut de plus de quinze pieds; . . . le fruict en est delicat; on

(*sic*) ne sont pas de meilleur goust que les bananes;[22] on les fait cuire soubs la braise et on les mange avec le sucre. Ils en font de mesme des patates qui sont comme des topinambours et ont le goust de la châtaigne.[23] On fait du pain des farines qu'on aporte de France. Pour ce qui est de nègres et des pauvres gens ils vivent de cassave; c'est une espèce de galette qu'on fait de farine (*fol. 4r*) de magnoc.[24] Ce magnoc est une racine qu'on ne cueille[25] que tous les seize ou dixhuit mois. On le pile iusque à ce que le ius en soit sorty qui est un poison tres subtil; quand on l'a tout exprimé on la fait secher et on la broye comme de la farine. Ensuitte on en fait des galettes fort larges et fort minces qu'on cuit

en nourrist les petits enfans comme de boüillie, il vient comme une grappe, & ne porte fruict qu'en une seule tige, mais où il y a quelquefois iusqu'à cent *Bananes:* Ce fruict est long de demypied, jaune au dedans, & de bon goust. On en met par quartiers seicher au Soleil; ce sont les figues confites du pays. Le R. P. Chemel Jesuite nous en fist manger à la Martinique de cuittes au feu, que nous pelions comme une poire cuite. Ie n'ay rien mangé de si bon en ce pays; on en trouve en toute saison.

[22] Bouton (*loc. cit.*):

Les figuiers de ce pays sont semblables aux bananiers et les figues aux bananes, sinon qu'elles ne sont pas si rondes mais un peu plates et plus courtes et n'ont pas du tout si bon goût.

[23] Bouton (p. 52):

Venons aux herbes dont on mange. . . . Les feuilles des patates dont on nourrit les animaux en quelques endroits sont bonnes au potage, et le bout de leur rejetons passe pour des asperges ayant tellement le même goût que si on le mangeait sans le voir on croirait manger des asperges . . . (p. 54) Quant aux racines, les patates, de la feuille et rejetons desquels nous avons déjà parlé, sont d'ordinaire plus grosses que nos naveaux et de beaucoup meilleur goût. . . . Elles sont jaunes au dedans; il y en a aussi de rouges et de blanches. On les fait cuire dans la cendre et en un chaudron avec un peu d'eau. . . . Elles sont de bonne nourriture et on s'en sert encore pour l'ouicou (ou la boisson du pays . . .).

Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 65): "(Les) Patates . . . sont racines grosses comme les Bettes-raves; quelques-uns les mangent à la pimentade, quand elles sont bien bouillies; d'autres les font griller dans la braize; elles ont un goust de Chastaigne; les fueilles en peuvent servir au potage."

[24] Bouton (p. 54):

Le manioc est une espèce d'arbrisseau de 5 à 6 pieds de hauteur, dont les feuilles ressemblent aucunement à celles de nos osiers ou saules. On les provigne, plantant en terre des bouts de bois de la longueur d'un pied ou plus. Il porte un[e] racine grosse comme nos plus grosses betteraves, mais blanche, que si on en veut avoir de juste grosseur, on attend un an. Après avoir nettoyé ou raclé cette racine, on la grage ou réduit en grosse farine avec une sorte de râpe plate qu'on appelle grage; puis, on la met en presse pour en tirer toute l'eau qui est un dangereux poison. Après, on met cette farine sur une platine de fer sur le feu, comme on fait les galettes de blé noir, et on retire un grand pain ou galette blanche comme la neige qui, étant encore fraiche, a assez bon goût. Lorsqu'elle est dure et gardée longtemps, elle en a fort peu. Voilà le pain du pays qu'il ne faut pas manger chaud, d'autant qu'il nuirait à la santé. Il ne change point l'estomac mais aussi il ne substante pas beaucoup.

Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 31):

Icy au lieu de pain nous mangions de la Cassave, qui y est fort commune et abondante. (P. 66): Cette cassave est faicte de la racine d'une espece d'arbrisseau, qu'ils appellent *Manioc.* . . . Sa racine est blanche, & fort insipide. . . . Il est à remarquer que de cette susdite farine on tire la fine fleur, & en faict-on certaine cassave, qu'ils appellent de la Mouchache, qui est meilleure que la cassave commune, mais ce n'est tousiours que du pain de racine.

Hallay (pp. 78–79):

Le pain pour le commun et des sauvages et des Européens moins aisés, est la cassave faicte d'une racine grosse comme betteraves, donc la plante croist comme le tournesol. C'est poison quand elle est fraische, mais l'ayant rapée, mise en mortier et pressée en des sacs de toile, le marc séché au soleil fait une farine, laquelle esgayée sur des platines comme celle où l'on ampèse, se prend et fait des galettes espaisses d'un demy doigt et grandes comme une platine, de goust de noisettes quand elles sont fraiches, qui se gardent séches un an, mais ne demeure guère dans l'estomac.

[25] *Ms.*, ceuille.

sur une platine semblable à cette dont on se sert pour secher le linge en France; le goust n'en est par trop mauvais et la pluspart des Créoles (c'est ainsy qu'on nomme ceux qui naissent dans le pays) en mangent plus volontiers que du pain. Mais nous voyons que ceux qui ne mangent que de cela quant aux blancs perdent tout à fait la couleur et sont iaunastres. Ie croy que la raison en est que quoyque l'on ayt exprimé tout le ius de cette racine il y rest[e] touiours certaine malignité qui vous gaste les parties. La chaleur contribue aussy beaucoup à cette couleur.

Il y a une si grande quantité d'orangers et de citronniers[26] et d'une si prodigieuse grosseur qu'il ne se peut dire davantage. Il y en a des allées d'une lieue de longueur; toutes les avenües en sont bordées et sont continuellement chargé[e]s de fleurs et de fruits. Vous ne sçauriés vous imaginer la quantité qu'il y en a par toute l'isle, et l'Italie n'en a pas à proportion les tiers (*fol. 4v*) de ce que ceste isle icy en porte. Il y a des melons de France et des melons d'eau comme en Italie, mais que (*sic*) ne sont pas si bons.[27] On y mange des asperges et des pois verds en toute saison, et de tous les herbages d'Europe.[28]

[26] Bouton (p. 56):

Les fruits du pays qui lui sont communs avec la France sont: les citrons, limons, orangers. Il est vrai qu'ils viennent ici en merveilleuse quantité, de toute sorte, et fort beaux et bons. Les citronniers et limoniers portent en 18 mois ou deux ans et les orangers en trois.

Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 74):

Il n'y a icy ny Olivier, ny Amendier, mais force Orangers & Citronniers qui y portent en tout temps, dont les fleurs embaument l'air agreablement.

Hallay (p. 78):

Les orangers et les citronniers que nous y avons porté y viennent à merveilles, n'y en ayant point auparavent toutes sortes de pois et de légumes pareillement.

Anon., 1660, (p. 127):

L'on y voit aussi diverses sortes d'orangers et de citronniers, lesquels outre les fruits très exquis qu'ils portent, sont encore beaux le long des chemins, et servent de bornes et de clôtures pour diviser les terres des habitants et fermer les jardins et les maisons, devenant très forts et très epais.

[27] Bouton (p. 53):

Pour les melons semblables aux nôtres en 6 semaines ou 2 mois vous les avez très bons et ordinairement plus gros qu'en France. J'ai dit les melons semblables aux nôtres, d'autant qu'il y en a d'autres qu'ils appellent melon d'eau qui ne sont pas de si bon goût que les nôtres mais qui désaltèrent et rafraîchissent grandement; ils ont beaucoup d'eau; c'est, à mon avis, ce qui les a fait nommer melon d'eau. Ils ont la chair rouge et sont comme des citrouilles médiocres, non pas si long mais plus ronds, de si facile digestion qu'un homme en peut manger un tout entier sans craindre de s'en trouver mal.

Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 33):

Icy vous mangez de tres-excellens melons, qui y profitent mieux qu'en France, aussi bien que la concombre qui n'y est pas si froide, ny si malsaine qu'en France, & mesme y a-il une autre espece de fruict qu'ils appellent melon d'eau, faict comme une petite citroüille, hormis qu'il est rouge par dedans, plein d'eau qu'on succe pour se rafraichir. Il en vient aussi en Italie.

[28] Bouton (*loc. cit.*):

La plupart des herbes de nos jardins y viennent bien . . . Les pois ronds de France y viennent bien. On n'en fait pas grand état d'autant qu'il y a une merveilleuse quantité de ces pois que quelques-uns appellent pois de Rome, autres des fesoles, autres haricots, qui portent en six semaines; excepté de petits qu'ils appellent pois anglais, d'autant que les Anglais sont les premiers qui en ont apporté, non pas d'Angleterre mais de la terre ferme d'Amerique; ceux-ci ne portant que dans deux mois, ont bien meilleur goût et font meilleur potage que les autres. On en mange aussi en salade. Il y a en quelques endroits des pois d'Angole semblables à nos lentilles, ce sont les délices des négres.

Anon. 1660 (loc. cit.):

Pour ce qui est de nos fruits, les raisins; les figues, et les melons y viennent trois fois l'an et sont très

Pour les animaux il n'y a que ceux qu'on a transportés d'Europe, à la réserve des perroquets et des cabris dont il y a quantité icy. Il n'y a presque point de gibier dans toute l'isle, si ce n'est quelque perdrix de mauvais goust; fort peu de lièvres et quelque[s] lapins; on y trouve aussy des ortolans.[29] Il fait fort dangereux chasser d'autant que les bois sont pleins de serpens fort dangereux, et ceux qui les pratiquent disent qu'il y en a une quantité et d'une grosseur prodigieuse.[30] Il y a aussy des lézards d'une grosseur et grandeur démesurée, et dont on mange la chair comme une fricasse de poulets et qui est fort délicate. On y mange aussy des crapaux.[31] Voila ce qu'on peut dire des vivres de

beaux et excellents; comme encore les asperges et tous les autres herbages de l'Europe dont les jardins sont remplis et embellis.

[29] Bouton (pp. 59–60):

Ce (i.e., les agoutis) sont de petits animaux qui ont quelque chose de nos lapins. . . . Les vivres que le pays fournit de lui-même sont les grives, perdrix ou plutôt tourterelles de plusieurs sortes ramiers, perroquets qui, à la saison, sont fort gras et ne cèdent en bonté à nos poules.

Anon., 1660 (p. 128, 129):

Entre [les oiseaux] de terre, les meilleurs, quoique moins délicats qu'en Europe, sont les perdrix, les tourterelles, les ramiers, les ortolans, les merles, les grives, et plusieurs autres, surtout les perroquets qui sont très excellents. . . . Il y a aussi quelques agoutis, qui sont une espèce de lievre.

[30] Bouton (p. 47):

Les pitons ou sommets des plus hautes montagnes demeurent pour les bois et leurs hôtes: les couleuvres, vipères, lézards et oiseaux. (p. 67): Mais ce qui a le plus décrié l'île et empêché 2000 personnes d'y venir sont de grandes couleuvres ou plutôt vipères, car elles ont toutes les propriétés des nôtres qui ont une morsure mortelle si on ne s'y prend promptement. Il est vrai qu'il y en a, mais non pas en la quantité qu'on se persuade et si on n'y est pas sans remède. Elles n'attaquent point les hommes qui ne les touchent pas et se retirent la plupart dans les lieux les plus écartés dans les bois.

Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 34):

Pour des Couleuvres il y en a icy de diverses sortes, de grandes et de petites, mais dangereuses; car quelques François & Sauvages sont morts de leur morsure.

Hallay (p. 85):

Il n'y a que la seule Martinique et Saint-Vincent où il y ait des vipères, mais grandes et grosses, ailleurs nul animal nuisible.

Anon., 1660 (p. 125):

Il est vrai que cette île, avec celle de Saint-Alousie, sont les seules où ils se trouvent des serpents venimeux. (p. 129): La plus grande incommodité est celle des serpents que l'on ne peut pas nier être très dangereaux.

[31] Bouton (pp. 62, 63):

Nous avons des lézards long d'une aune. Les mâles sont gris, les femelles vertes. Le manger en est bon. . . . Quelques-uns mangent aussi de gros crapauds, larges comme une bonne assiette. Nous en avons assez vu et croyons que ce ne sont que grenouilles et non pas crapauds. Le manger le plus commun des sauvages . . . sont de grosses crabes de terre, ou cancres blancs, qui sont en des trous de terre assez proche de la mer. De vrai, ils sont bons et plusieurs Français s'en contentent bien lorsqu'ils en ont, et même quelques-uns mangent d'autres crabes qui ne sont si grosses ni si bonnes, sont celles qu'ils appellent des tourlouroux, qui sont petits cancres rouges qui gâtent fort les jardins proches de la mer où ils ont leurs trous. Vous en voyez la terre toute couverte sur la fin du mois d'avril, qu'ils font un tour à la mer pour se baigner et s'en reviennent incontinent.

Maurile de St.-Michel (pp. 31–32):

Nous mangions . . . au lieu de Poulets, de grands Lezards, dont ils font de bon potage, la viande en est delicate, & en ay souvent mangé. Icy les iours maigres mesme on mange de la Tortuë, qui passe pour poisson, *des Crabes & des Tourlourons*. (p. 71) Les Lezards passent icy pour poisson: Ils sont longs d'une aulne; les masles sont gris, les femelles verdes. . . . La viande en est excellente, aussi bien que le potage, comme ie disois tantost, pour l'avoir esprouvé . . . (pp. 72–73) Il y a icy des *Crabes* dans les bois qui sont faits comme des Cancres; . . . les mange-on à l'orange, quand ils sont cuits;

l'isle. Pour le commerce il consiste comme i'ay desia dit en sucre brute ou de l'indigo du costé des habitans;[32] pour les navires qui arrivent de France et qui les viennent charger ils aportent toutes sortes de marchandises, soit farines, vin, eau de vie, boeuf salé et généralement (*fol. 5r*) tout ce qui peut servir à la vie. Comme aussy pour les habits, tout y est fort cher parceque on ne fabrique aucune étoffe dans le pays et il n'y a presque pas de gens de mestier; ainsy il faut tout aporter de France, ce qui enchérit fort les danrées.

Depuis quelques années, on a fait trois raffineries de sucre dans l'isle qui sont d'un très grand profit,[33] mais la pluspart des navires chargent le sucre brute et le portent de mesme en France où on le raffine.

Pour ce qui regarde la manière de vivre, les gens sont icy fort polis et vivent assés bien. Les débauches n'y sont pas si grandes comme on se le figure en France, à la réserve de l'isle de S^{t} Dominique, qui est a cent lieües de la Martinique, ou l'on vit dans un désordre perpetuel, l'isle n'estant remplie que de Fribustiers qui vont en course contre les Espagnols et pillent tout ce qu'ils rencontrent en mer. Le seiour de la Martinique me paroist assés beau iusque à present; nous sommes dans le (*fol. 5v*) temps des pluies qui font tout l'hiver de ces pays icy; voicy aussi la saison des ouragans,[34] qui commencent ordinairement dans les mois juillet, aoust, septembre. C'est à dire qu'on les apréhende tous ces trois mois là. Cet ouragan est un vent impétueux qui fait un ravage épouvantable et fait

. . . Il y a d'autres petits cancres qu'ils appellent Tourlouroux, qui gastent aussi les Jardins voisins de l'eau.

Anon., 1660 (p. 129):

Au lieu de nos autres animaux, ils ont des lezards, les crabes et les grenouilles d'une grosseur prodigieuse qui se trouvent dans les bois, et que plusieurs mettent au nombre des mets les plus exquis.

[32] Robert (pp. 261–277) discusses at length the state of commerce in 1696. The chief industry was sugar, though cocoa was promising (p. 261):

La grande richesse de l'isle consiste dans les sucres qu'elle produit. . . . Après les sucres on regarde le cacao comme un assez grand bien; il a jusqu'à présent produit des avantages considérables à plusieurs habitants.

Tobacco is not mentioned and indigo, cotton, rocou and cassia are cultivated only by small proprietors as they yield but little profit. See above, note 16.

[33] In 1680 Patoulet, the first "Intendant de finances, justice et police" for the West Indies, reports that two large sugar refineries were at work, that a third was planned, and that he had urged the Company of Senegal to establish a fourth. The industry was killed by the heavy duty imposed on refined sugar at the demand of the French refineries. See S. L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy* (*Yale Historical Studies I.* New Haven and London; 1912), pp. 274–280; Margry, *op. cit.* (above, p. 133, note 12), pp. 262–274.

[34] Bouton (p. 48):

Les ouragans, ou vents extraordinairement furieux, qui font tout le tour de l'horizon, abattent les arbres et les maisons, de sorte que fort peu en échappent; ne se font sentir ici avec tant de violence qu'à d'autres îles, non plus que les tonnerres et tremblements de terre.

Robert (pp. 234–235):

On appelle la saison des ouragans depuis le mois de juillet jusqu'au 15 octobre, parcequ'il est arrivé souvent dans ce tems des coups de vents terribles, les vents faisant alors tout le tour du compas avec une impétuosité furieuse; dans ces rencontres, la rade du bourg Saint-Pierre n'est pas bonne, etant toute ouverte aux vents d'aval, et la mer, venant de très loing avec impétuosité, ferait périr les vaisseaux les mieux amarrez, s'il s'y en rencontroit, et il n'y a de resource pour les vaisseaux qu'à se renfermer dans les culs-de-sac; mais les ouragans n'arrivent pas tous les ans; on en passe beaucoup sans en voir, cependant on s'en défie toujours; les navigateurs taschent de quitter ce pays-cy en avant cette saison, et si ils sont obligez d'y rester, ils prennent la précaution de mettre les vaisseaux dans les culs-de-sax: . . . (p. 236) ce quartier (Cul-de-sac Royal) est considérable par . . . le cul-de-sac, qui sert de retraite aux navires dans la saison des ouragans.

en vintquatre heures qui dure ordinairement tout le tour du compas; il déracine des arbres et des roches et renverse toutes les habitations; pour les sucres s'ils ne sont coupés dans ce temps là, la pluspart des habitans sont ruinés; les vaisseaux qui sont en mer se perdent presque tous; enfin c'est un désordre épouvantable. Il en arriva l'année passée un si terrible[35] que l'isle a esté presque ruinée et les habitans ont eu de la peine à s'en relever; il ne fit que la moitié du tour du compas et ne dura que douze heures; s'il avoit continüé il auroit fallu abandonner l'isle, tous les vivres ayant esté perdues. On l'apréhende tous les ans quoyqu'il se passe quelquefois iusqu'à dix années sans qu'on en soit incommodé; il arrive aussy quelquefois deux ou trois années de suitte. C'est pourquoy on se (*fol. 6r*) précautionne tous les ans; tous les vaisseaux qui sont en rade à la Basse-Terre se retirent au cul-de-sac, et sont amarés avec quatres grosses ancres, et près après les uns des autres on ne voit point arriver de vaisseaux de France en cette saison parcequ'ils courent risque de se perdre à la coste.

Voilà à peu près ce que l'on peut dire de la Martinique. Pour les autres isles qui sont au tour il y en a qui sont occupées par les françois comme la Marie Galante,[36] la moitié de S^{t} Cristophle, et l'autre moitié par les anglois, S^{t} Dominique par les françois et les espagnols, S^{te} Croix par les françois, S^{t} Thomas par les danois, la Barbade, Vermude par les anglois, et Gardeloupe par les françois.

Il y a d'autres isles ancor qui sont habitées par les sauvages du pays qui sont nommés caraïbes,[37] de couleur rougeastre qu'ils entretiennent aussy avec du Rocou; ils portent les cheveux fort longs et vont tous nuds;[38] ils viennent de temps et (*sic*) temps traiter des vivres du linge et autres choses et aportent dans des canots des fruits de leurs isles, des crabes qui sont comme des chancres. Ils habitent la Dominique, S^{t} Alousio (*fol. 6v*),[39] la Désirade et quelques autres isles encor qui sont si montagneuses que personne n'a pris la peine de si habituer.[40] Ce qu'il y a d'assés particulier c'est que presque dans toutes ces

[35] On the hurricane at St. Domingo in 1680 cf. a letter of Pouancy, probably to Blénac, dated September 25, 1680, *Nouv. acq. fr. 9325* (Margry), fol. 300.

[36] See above, p. 132, Galande.

[37] In 1658 the Caribs were expelled from Martinique, and in 1660 Poincy held a council with the chiefs and secured peace for the French settlements by conceding to the savages the possession of St. Vincent, Dominique and some of the lesser islands. Cf. J. Sautoyant, *La colonisation française sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: 1929), I, p. 220; S. Daney, *Histoire de la Martinique* (Fort Royal: 1846), I, pp. 178–186, 199–205; Du Tertre, *op. cit.* (*Antilles*), II, pp. 356 ff. (quoted Daney, I, pp. 294–316).

[38] Bouton (p. 72):

Ils se rougissent le corps, qui autrement est de couleur olivâtre, avec du rocou. — Hallay (p. 80): Ils corrigent leur teint olivâtre par une peinture rouge de Roccrou à l'huile dont ils se colorent le matin, et semblent vestus d'un pantalon de rattine.

Bouton (p. 72):

Ces sauvages vont entièrement nus, sans honte; les femmes aussi bien que les hommes.

[39] Sainte Alousie, now Santa Lucia.

[40] Bouton (p. 46):

Martinique a pour îles voisins celle de Sainte-Luce, dite Saincta Lousie, tenue par les Anglais, . . . et la *Dominique*, . . . peuplée encore des Caraïbes, ainsi s'appellent nos sauvages.

Hallay (pp. 74–75):

A mesure qu'ils (les Européens) s'y sont establys, les isles et cantons où ils sont entrés se sont dépeuplées de sauvages, . . . de sorte que, aujourd'hui, tous les sauvages sont réduicts à trois isles où ils sont seuls, sçavoir la Dominique que vous verrés entre la Guadaloupe et la Martinique, secondement

isles il n'y a que dans la Martinique où il y ait des serpens à la réserve de deux ou trois autres.

Les caraibes aiment assés les françois et trafiquent avec eux, mais ils sont ennemis mortels des anglois et ont une guerre continuelle avec eux.[41]

Ils vont comme i'ay desia dit tous nuds et se servent de l'arc et de la flesche.[42] Il y a deux mois qu'il arriva icy quatre pirogues (ce sont des bateaux d' escorce d'arbre ou l'arbre mesme qu'ils creusent); ils estoient dix ou douze dans chaque pirogue[43] et ayant parlé au Capitaine des pirogues ie lui demandé ou ils alloint; il me répondit que leur route étoit vers la Vermude, et qu'il avoit trente pirogues pour tascher de surprendre les anglois et les égorger; quand ils en attrapent de vivans, il en font un festin, ce qu'ils (*fol. 7r*) apellent faire leur vin;[44] ils se mettent en mer quelque temps qu'il fasse, et si la

l'isle de Saint-Vincent qui est entre la Martinique et la Grenade, et troisiesmement partie dans les hauts de la Martinique et de la Grenada, et les hauts et enfonces de la Trinité qui est aux Espagnols.

[41] In 1640 the Caribs were much less friendly.

Bouton (p. 68):

La crainte de surprise de la part des sauvages est presque continuelle, d'autant qu'ils sont sans foi, et quelque promesse qu'ils fassent et bonne mine il ne faut pas s'y fier non plus qu'ils ne se fient pas trop à nous. (P. 77) Outre la guerre qu'ils ont contre les Français de la Guadeloupe, les Anglais de Sainte-Lucie, Antigue, Montserrat et autres îles occupées sur les Caraïbes, ils la font encore aux Galibés qui sont sauvages de la terre ferme et ont alliance et société d'armes avec les Arouagues qui sont aussi en terre ferme.

They professed, however, a preference for the French and detestation of the English.

Bouton (p. 79):

Ils expriment aussi l'état qu'ils font ou l'estiment qu'ils ont de la bonté des nations par leurs mains et bras et montrant la main entière et une partie du bras vous disent: France bonne comme este; pour les Flamands ou Hollandais, ils montrent la main et disent: bonne comme este. Les Anglois sont les pires dans leur estime; ils ne montrent pour eux que le bout des doigts. Possible que quand ils parlent des Français en leur absence ou devant ces autres nations, ils ne gardent pas cette division.

[42] Bouton (p. 77):

Leurs armes sont des arcs de bois rouge, avec des flèches de certains roseaux, qui, au lieu de fer, ont au bout un bois fort pointu et empoisonné. (P. 78) Ils tuent et mangent leurs captifs avec mille cérémonies et cruautés, non pas toutefois si grandes que celles des Canadois. — Hallay (p. 83): Leurs armes sont le massue, l'arc et la flêche: leur milice est par ruse ou surprise. Autrefoys ils mangeoient leurs ennemys pris. Maintenant point ou rarement.

Apparently by 1681 cannibalism had disappeared.

[43] Bouton (p. 77):

Ils ne font de difficultés pour aller surprendre leurs ennemis de s'exposer dans leurs canots et pirogues à un voyage de mer de bien de 200 lieues. (P. 78) Outre ces canots faits d'une pièce de bois et non pas de l'écorce d'arbre comme ceux des Canadois, ils ont des pirogues faits de deux ou trois pièces; elles sont plus grandes que les canots et y en a qui portent 40 à 50 hommes. Ils y mettent les voiles à notre imitation quand ils en peuvent avoir.

Maurile de St.-Michel (p. 146):

Outre ces petits bateaux qu'ils appellent *Canots,* qu'ils ne font pas d'écorce d'arbre, comme ceux du Continent; mais de quelques pieces de bois; Ils en ont de plus grands, qu'ils nomment Piroques (*sic*), contenants trente personnes, lesquels ils commencent à faire aller à la voile, depuis qu'ils ont veu nos navires.

[44] Bouton (p. 76):

Les sauvages font souvent pour diverses occasions des vins dans leurs carbets, c'est à dire des assemblées dans de grandes cases faites exprès où ils boivent excessivement sans manger que fort peu. Cela dure quelquefois jusqu'à 8 ou 10 jours, et c'est alors qu'il fait bon les attaquer car ils sont presque toujours ivres.

pirogue[45] vient à tourner, ce qui arrive assés souvent ils se iettent à la mer, la retournent et ayant ietté l'eau se remettent dedans comme si de rien n'estoit.[46]

Ils adorent le Diable du quel ils sont fort tourmentés.[47]

Ces Sauvages là sont tous fort bien faite[48] et sont tous gras et potelés et ont extrêmement soin de leur corps qu'ils frottent d'huile et les cheveux d'huile de palme.

Voilà ce qu'on peut dire en abrégé des isles de l'Amerique. Quand i'en auray une plus exacte connoissance ie tascheray de vous en envoyer une relation dans les formes.

III

RELATIONE D' ATENE[1]

Relatione
D'alcune principali Antichità d'Atene
Del Sigr Rinaldo de la Rüe.

[45] *Ms.*, piroque.

[46] Maurile de St.-Michel (*loc. cit.*):

Ils nagent à ravir, & ne se soucient pas, soit en guerre, soit en pesche, que leur batteau renverse; car ils le redressent eux-mesmes, & se remettent dedans.

[47] Bouton (pp. 71, 72):

De religion on n'en reconnait aucune parmi eux . . . Possible que le temps en découvrira davantage lorsque nous serons avec eux ou eux avec nous. . . . Ils connaissent par expérience, à leur dépens qu'il y a des esprits, puisque le diable qu'ils appellent le *maboïa,* les bat quelquefois jusqu'à mourir. Il n'a pas tant de puissance sur eux lorsqu'ils sont avec les Français, mais au retour ils le tourmentent cruellement en punition de ce qu'ils y ont été. Ils avouent aussi que le signe de la croix fait fuir ce *maboïa.* La pluspart ont dans leur habitation une porte par laquelle ils disent qu'il entre et qu'il sort. Ils ne lui rendent aucun honneur que je sache, et ne lui font aucun sacrifice. Ils connaissent aussi un qu'ils nomment *chemin* qui ne les traite pas mieux que *maboïa.*

Hallay (p. 83):

Ils n'ont aucune cognoissance de la divinité, n'y par conséquent aucune religion. Le diable les bat visiblement et invisiblement, le jour, la nuit, ensemble et séparés, et c'est ce qui nous donne ouverture à leur prescher la divinité, la péché qui a faict le diable et nous y a assujetty, l'incarnation du Verbe qui nous done l'empire sur le diable, parceque si tost qu'il y a un baptisé parmy eux, pour vitieux qu'il soit, le diable n'y entre point. Avec notre eau béniste et les chapelets ils le chassent, c'est pourquoy ils demandent sans cesse le baptesme.

[48] Hallay (p. 80):

Pour leur personne, la taille est quarrée, les espaules larges, le corps charnu, les membres fort découplés, le visage d'ordinaire plus beau que l'ordinaire de nos villageois et villageoises.

[1] Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Miscellanea Medicea, Filza 128, No. 39.* See above, §I, notes 1, 175, 176, 187.

The manuscript is written on 5 letter sheets, *ca.* 29.5 × 20.5 cm., grouped as a signature, but not sewn or fastened together. Neither pages nor folios are numbered. The title is on the outside page, and the rest of this sheet is blank. The text fills 16½ pages. The paper is unruled, but the lines are evenly spaced — 27 to a page — and must have been written with the aid of a set of lines. It is certainly not the original draft, but almost certainly is the fair copy mentioned by Matteo del Teglia (*1656,* June 19, 1688; see above §I, note 187). The manuscript is very well written and easy to read, but is with little doubt not the work of La Rue, though there are some minor resemblances to the hand of the letters.

In this account of the antiquities of Athens La Rue, after an introduction treating of Attica, Ogigus, Deucalion, Cecrops, the strife between Athena and Poseidon, Theseus and the name Athens, citing as his authorities Thucydides, Pausanias, Aristarchus (Aristides), and Gio.

Trovandosi egli stesso all'acquisto della med[illegible] Città,
nella Campagna dell' Anno 1687, in qualità di Bombista.[2]

Mercurio (see below, note 3), mentions in turn, sometimes at length, with some imperfectly copied inscriptions, the following antiquities: the Acropolis, its walls and gates; the first gate to the west, opposite the Turkish cemetery and between the wall of the Acropolis and the Theatre of Bacchus; within, a relief with two figures shaking hands and having the inscription KAIPE; the Theatre of Bacchus; the second gate with an architrave of marble and an inscription; at the third gate, which has a marble eagle over it, begin the Propylaea, vestibules with equestrian statues in low relief; on entering the fourth gate there comes in sight the magnificent palace, now in ruins, about which there are differing views, some calling it the Arsenal of Lycurgus, others a temple. Then follows an account of the explosion in the Propylaea on the Feast of S. Dimetrio, and comment on the name given to the church of S. Dimetrio Bombardiere; the Pinacotheca as described by Pausanias, and at the right the Temple of Nike. At the left of the fifth gate is a large tower, at least 100 feet high, on which there is said to have been a statue of Minerva. From there one passes to the Tempio di Minerva, "tanto famoso, et hora rovinato da una bomba"; only the façade remains, which is very beautiful and is full of life-size figures in the round, representing, according to Pausanias and others, the Triumph of the birth of Minerva. There is also a fine statue of Jove, at the right of which is "el circolo delli Dei," to whom Jove is introducing Minerva. Next come descriptions of the Parthenon with details of the church, frieze and metopes, and of the temple of Minerva Polias (Erechtheum). From there, leaving the Acropolis, we come to the Theatre of Bacchus, where is the grotto of the tripod of Apollo, of Cerusa and of Niobe, and at the foot of the Acropolis, near the Theatre of Bacchus, that of Pan and Apollo, with two columns, formerly bearing their statues, and above the grotto a white marble block with a sun-dial. At the right of the Acropolis, toward the sea, is the Museion Hill and the Arch of Trajan (monument of Philopappus), and at the left as one descends the hill are the prisons of the Areopagus, the ruins of the temple of Mars (i.e., the wall of the Pnyx), and above it the Areopagus. A little further on is the Church of S. Dimetrio, and facing the gate of the Acropolis is a huge rock (Areopagus) called Baratron, at the foot of which is the house of the archbishop, once that of S. Dionisius the Areopagite. Lower down toward the city is the Temple of Theseus, now the church of St. George. About two miles away are the gardens of Cepolia where the Academy of Plato was situated, and the first temple of Love, of which no trace remains. Near the Theseum is a marble lion couchant, and near it a column on which was a statue of Isocrates. Passing around the city, toward the Ilissus, one comes upon the "Licodimus," once the Lyceum of Aristotle, where there was a temple of Apollo, now the church of the Saviour. Next, Anchesmus (Lycabettus) and the three other principal mountains of Athens are mentioned. At the foot of Anchesmus are the ruins of the aqueduct of Hadrian, and the Ilissus, over which is a bridge leading to the Amphitheatre of Herodes Atticus (Stadium), from which through a natural grotto is a passage to the Agra and the ruins of a temple of Diana. About two and a half miles distant toward the east is Angelotipos (Ambelokepi) or Garden of Angels, formerly the school of Zeno. Going along the river toward the city from the Stadium one sees a hill on which is a temple of Ceres, now a church of the Blessed Virgin, and where there was also the tomb of Pyrrhus. Opposite, on the other side of the river, are the ruins of the Palace of Hadrian, of which there remain only 17 of its 300 columns and an arch with inscriptions. About 60 paces away is the Enneakrounos; the river empties at the Porto Munychia, where there was formerly a temple of Diana and the grave of Themistocles. There are two other ports, Porto Falera and the better Porto Pireo (Porto Lione). Entering the city from the harbor one finds the Temple of Olympian Jove, or according to others the Palace of Pericles (Stoa of Hadrian), and near there the Arch of Augustus and the tower of Andronicus (of the Winds), "una delle più belle antichità che si ritrovino in Atene." At the extreme end of the city, where there is the Convent of the Cappucini is the Lantern of Demosthenes, once a temple of Hercules, where Demosthenes used to retire to compose his orations.

[2] Title in *Ms.*

(*P. 1*) RELATIONE D'ATENE.

Diverse sono le opinioni della derivazione del nome attribuito a questa provincia nominata Attica. Certi autori vogliono che prendesse il nome da Acteus, il quale haveva habitato l' Attica avanti Cecrops, altri che l'havesse preso dalla figlia di Cranaus, secondo Re dell' Attica e successore di Cecrops, nominata Attis, ma la più probabile opinione, la quale seguitano molti autori, è che l'Attica deriva dal nome Greco AKTHC, che significa riva del mare, e questo si verifica, atteso che di 200 e qualche miglia di circuito, che gira l'Attica, è circondata de 140 miglia di mare, cioè dal Egeo e Canal di Negroponte, comminciando di quà da Megara sino all' Aropso, anticamente Oropus. E per prova che questa provincia non prese il suo nome d'Acteus, nè da Attis, si legga quello ne scrive Gio. Mercurio, il quale citando in questo proposito l'Abbate Uspergiense[3] molto letterato, e versato nelle cose dell' antichità, discorrendo di Ogigus, figlio di Nettuno et Ebotis, dalla quale prese il nome la Boetia; venendo detto Ogigus di Tebe per habitare nell'Attica, dice, "Tunc Ogigus condidit Eleusinam in Attica, provincia quae antichitus vocatur Acta, et alias plurimas civitates."[4] In quel tempo di Ogigus successe un'inondatione generale nell' Attica, la quale doppo detta inondatione restò deserta 190 anni, sino che Cecrops la ripopolò l'anno del mondo 2400 in circa; fece fabricare il castello che fece chiamare Cecropia, città di Cecrops, e gl' habitanti del territorio Cecropensi. Questo fu primo Re dell' Attica; essendosi con il tempo fabricato (*p. 2*) diverse habitationi nell'Attica, la fece dividere in quattro[5] quartieri con il nome di Cecropia, Indigena, Actea, e Maritima, Cecropia in nome suo, Indigena che vuol dir quartiere del paese, Actea in honor del suo suocero, e Maritima il quartiere che si stendava dalla parte del mare. Vedendo poi che l'Attica comminciava a moltiplicarsi, volse sapere il numero degl' habitanti, et a quest' effetto ordinò che ogn' uno in un luogo destinato gittasse una pietra; essendosi queste contate trovò un numero di 20000 persone, e riconosciuta in tal maniera la quantità del popolo mandò Argus nella Sicilia et Affrica per portarne delle provisioni. In quel tempo comparve nel Castello una fontana d'acqua salata, et un olivo. Cecrops per questa nuovità si risolse di mandare all' oracolo Delfico per sapere la significatione; l'oracolo rispose che l'acqua significava Nettuno, e l'olivo Minerva, che era in arbitrio loro pigliare per tutelare quale volessero di queste due deità. Cecrops havendo saputa la risposta chiamò in consiglio tutto il popolo tanto huomini che donne per pigliare la pluralità de' voti. Essendo gl'huomini in favore di Nettuno, e le donne per Minerva, essendosi trovato un voto di più in favor di questa, le fu dedicata la città, la quale sotto Amphiction, terzo Re dell' Attica, fu nominata AΘHNA, che in Greco significa il nome della dea. Succedendo doppo nel territorio un' inondazione, s'imaginarono[6] che Nettuno volesse vendicare, chiamarono perciò il popolo a consiglio (*p. 3*) e per pacificarlo risolserò di mortificare le donne, imponendole tre pene, la prima, che non haverebbero più vote nel consiglio, la seconda che il loro figli non potrebbero chiamarsi del nome della madre, e la 3ª che le donne essendo maritate non potrebbero nominarsi del loro nome, ma del nome

[3] "Gio. Mercurio," according to Von Duhn (*loc. cit.*, p. 56), is a mistake of La Rue for "Meursius," who cites the Abate Uspergiense as his authority for this passage ("De regibus Athen," in Gronov, *Thesaurus*, IV, p. 28). This reference to "Mercurio" Von Duhn numbers among various indications that La Rue gained his information chiefly from his guide, rather than from a direct acquaintance with either Spon's *Voyage* or Verneda's plan of 1687 (*ibid.*, pp. 55–56).

[4] *Ms.*, omit second quotation marks.

[5] *Ms.*, quattre.

[6] *Ms.*, s'imaginorono.

della casata del marito. Cecrops fu il primo che instituisse il matrimonio nell'Attica, che però lo dipingevano con due faccie. Regnò 50 anni; era nativo d'Egitto, e vi sono autori che scrivono che essendo andato per congiungersi con Faraone perisse con esso nel Mar Rosso. Doppo Cecrops regnò Carnaus, e dopo lui Amfictione, terzo Re, il quale fece (come già si disse) nominare la città del nome della dea ΑΘΗΝΑ, e gl'habitanti Atenienſi, i quali prima si chiamavano Cecropij. Tutto il popolo dell' Attica essendo diviso in diverse parti lontane dalla Fortezza è sottoposto ad ogni momento all' irruzioni delli loro vicini. Teseo, Xmo Re, negl' anni del mondo 2750, congregati li più ricchi e principali, li fece risolvere a venire habitare sotto la Fortezza, e comminciorono a fabricare case e palazzi a gara, e con la diligenza di Teseo si fabricò in breve una città che chiamarono πολις — cioè città, e l'antica città o Fortezza ακροπολις; per questo fu dato a Teseo il titolo di fondatore d'Atene, come anco oggi si vede su l'arco del Palazzo d'Adriano come qui sotto diremo, Teseo ne fu il (*p. 4*) fondatore et Adriano il restauratore. Venne poi augumentendosi la città d'Atene a segno che come scrive Pausanias, che viveva a tempo di Cesare, Antonino, e Marc Anton. negl' anni di grazia 200 e tanti della città li muri d'Atene giravano 25 miglia. Molti autori hanno descritto il Castello come Teucidide, ma per brevità dirò solo qual che adesso ne resta in piedi di tante belle antichità che vi si vedevano, e delle parlano diffusamte Pausanias et Aristides. Il Castello detto Areopolis (*sic*) è fabricato sopra una rocca accessibile da una parte sola; il suo primo circuito era solamente di pali, e di fuori di legni d'olivari, e doppo Cimone figlio di Miltiade arcondo d'Atene, essendo prencipe fece fare il circuito di buone e forti mura appoggiate di speroni delli quali si vedono ancora li fondamenti, le mura essendo state rinovate da i Turchi secondo la necessità; vi è un entrata sola per salire nel Castello; vi sono però in tutto cinque porte, le quali fece fabricar Pericles, govte e cittadino d'Atene, e Menicles ne fu l'architetto; fu principato questa fabrica sotto Eutines, arcondo d'Atene, gl' anni del mondo 3800 e tanti, et in termine di 5 anni fu finita, sotto l'arcondo Pitodoro, e fu speso per tutta quella fabrica delle 5 porte e vestibuli due mila e dodici talenti; un talento Attico valeva 600 scudi di nostra moneta. Le chiavi di queste porte erano ogni sera in (*p. 5*) deposito nelle mani d'uno oriondo il quale chiamavano ΕΝΙϚΥΤΗϚ; si mutava ogni giorno per politica, e per tema di qualche intrapresa o tirrannia. Avanti l'assedio i vestibuli erano la maggior' parte in essere, come anco le 5 porte, ma il nostro cannone e bombe hanno quasi tutto rovinato. La pma porta riguarda a ponente in faccia de cimiterij de Turchi giunta dal muro del Castello alle rovine del Teatro di Bacco; in dentro di questa porta è un basso rilevo di due figure, che si danno la mano l'una all' altra, e di sotto il nome ΚΑΙΡΕ; fra questa prima porta è la seconda, e l'entrata del Teatro di Bacco; la seconda porta è fabricata di marmo con un architrave d'un gran pezzo di marmo con l'inscrizione seguente:

Φν· ΓΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΓ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΗΝΟΓ ΦΛΑΜΚΑΙΝΟ ΑΓΩ
ΝΟΘΕΤΩΝ ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ ΤΟΥΓ ΠΥΛΩΝΑΓ ΤΗΠΟΛΕΙ

che significa Flavius Septimus Marcellinus, sacerdote degli dei, e che presideva a i giuochi publici, fece fabricare a sue spese le porte. Questa porta apparentemente è stata rifabricata a tempo de Turchi essendo le sopra inscrizione alla roversa. Da quella porta andando alla terza comminciano li Propilei. Questi erano vestibuli con statue di basso rilieve equestri; sopra la 3a porta vi è un'aquila di marmo intiera, segno della dominazione de Romani. Passando la 4a porta si vede quel magnifico palazzo del quale si discorre diversamente; chi dice che fu l'Arsenale di Licurgo, figlio di Licofonte; altri vogliono che fusse un tempio. E tutto di marmo fabricato sopra colonne bellissime di marmo d'ordine Corin-

tio; è però ruinato e se ne vedono solamente diverse vestigie; le colonne hanno d'altezza 42: piedi. Di questo palazzo raccontano i Greci la seguente historia.

Nel 1645,[7] giorno che celebravano la festa di S. Demetrio, il quale fu martirizzato in Salonik, havevano consueto i Greci venire la sera della vigilia ad una chiesa dedicata a quel santo, la quale è in faccia della porta della Fortezza a mezzo tiro di cannona, l'Agà del Castello, sapendo che li Greci volevano la maggior parte venire il giorno a venire a sentir messa, e rallegrarsi secondo la loro usanza all' intorno della chiesa, fece sbarare per dispetto una cannonata sopra la detta chiesa, la quale non fece altro effetto che dì fare un buco dalla parte dell' altare; arrabiato di questo fece preparare tre pezzi di cannone per rovinarla all' alba. Il tempo era molto sereno, ma verso mezza notte comminciò a tuonare, e cadde un fulmine sopra quel palazzo dove allogiava l'Agà con la sua famiglia, la quale dalle rovine del medo fu tutta morta; ne restò altro che una sua figlia, la quale per fortuna era andata a dormire abasso nel borgo da una sua parente; questa fu poi maritata all' Agà, successore di suo padre, e di questa vive ancora in oggi una figlia in Atene. Si dice che l'Agà (*p. 7*) teneva in questo palazzo le polveri, e che il fulmine havendovi messo fuoco fosse causa della rovina di quell' edificio. I Greci doppo questo successo hanno dato a quella chiesa di S. Demetrio il nome di ἅγιος διμιτριος λομβαρδιαρις, cioè Santo Demetrio il Bombardiere. Pausanias racconta che in quel palazzo erano molte belle pitture de Polignotus, fra l'altre un ritratto di Diomede e di Ulisse; in questo era il Palladio di Ilio, le saette di Filottete, e molte altre cose, che per brevità tralascio, e che si potranno leggere in quell' autore. A mano destra è il piccolo Tempio della Vittoria involucre fabricato appresso[8] le muraglie di dove Egeo, padre di Teseo, si precipitò; quello serviva di magazino a i Turchi. Quel Tempio è d'ordine Ionico con piccole colonne cannellate, e nel fregio vi sono molte piccole figure di basso rilievo ben fatte. Entrando nella quinta porta a man sinistra è una gran torre quadrata di marmo bianco, di altezza di 100 piedi in circa; dicono che sopra questa era anticamente una statua di Minerva. Di là si va al Tempio di Minerva tanto famoso, et hora rovinato da una bombe, che messe il fuoco nelle polveri radunate là da Turchi nel presente assedio; non ne resta in piedi che la facciata, la quale è bellissima; è piena di figure intiere grandi come natura, le quali secondo Pausanias et altri autori rappresentano li Trionfi della nascita di Minerva. Vi è una statua intiera di Giove in bellissima positura; li manca (*p. 8*) il braccio destro col quale teneva il fulmine. Vi è la Vittoria che conduce il carro di Minerva,[9] tirato da due cavalli d'un excellente scultera, et appena se ne potrebbero trovare due simili. Vi sono dell' altre figure bellissime, ma mutilate in parte. Alla destra della statua di Giove è il circolo delli Dei dove Giove introduce Minerva; a queste la maggior' parte manca la testa. Il tempio fu nominato Partenon, e Ecatompedon, Partenon per esser dedicato ad una dea vergine, Ecatompedon per la sua proporzione di misura. Fu fatto fabricare da Pericles, gl'anni del mondo 3538, Calistines et Ictinus ne furono gl'architetti. Il giro del Tempio era circondato da una bellissima galleria tutta lastricata di marmo con 46 colonne cannellate di ordine Diroci, di 42 piedi d'altezza, e 17½ di circonferenza, l'intercolonnare

[7] For a discussion (with bibliography) of the date, which now there appears to be good reason for establishing at 1640, see Collignon, *Giraud,* pp. 13–14 (381–382); *idem, Relation,* p. 65. Spon in 1675 told Giraud that the explosion occurred 35 years earlier, viz., in 1645. Was La Rue told by Giraud in 1687 that it took place "about 45 years earlier," and remembering this imperfectly, is he here transferring the 45 to the date itself?

[8] *Ms.,* ap'po.

[9] The ms. here inserts, "vi è una statua intiera di Giove," but it has been erased, probably from dittography with the preceding "di Minerva."

di 7½. La porta del Tempio d'altezza 30, la larghezza della Galleria 10½., la lunghezza del Tempio 218, e la larghezza di 98½. Tutto il Tempio era fabricato di grandissime pietre di marmo bianco. Era dedicato altre volte alla Beata Vergine, e se ne vede ancora una figura alla mosaica sopra il luogo dove era l'altare restato in piedi; intorno erano dipinti gli Apostoli, ma i Turchi hanno imbiancito il muro, ne più si vedono. Havevano lasciato il baldichino dell'altare che era al tempo de Xp' ni, il quale era sostenuto da quattro [colonne][10] di porfirio d'ordine Corintio, e a man destra due (*p. 9*) piccole colonne di jaspide, queste adesso sepolte nelle rovine del Tempio, come pure due pietre di marmo trasparente delle quali li Turchi facevano mille favole, e raccontavano miracoli. A destra et a sinistra erano due armari di marmo; uno fu aperto nè si sa quando, l'altro non è stato più aperto, dicono i vecchiardi, che havevano inteso da loro antecessori ritrovarsi dentro una quantità di manuscritti, e che quelli che furono presenti all'apertura del primo erano tutti morti l'istesso giorno. Non è però questa la causa che non si sia aperto l'altro, ma temevano qualche avania da i Turchi, o che facessero intendere al Gran Sigre che colà si fosse ritrovato qualche tesoro; e però fossero obligati a qualche grand' esborso. Sotto il Tempio era una gran cisterna piena d'acqua, e fuora del Tempio a man destra era un gran' vaso di marmo, il quale apparentemente era il Battesimo de Greci. Intorno al fregio del Tempio erano molte figure di basso rilievo, che rappresentavano processioni e sacrificij con una quantità di carri e gente, et altre ceremonie de gl' antichi Atteniensi; vi erano ancora le seguenti figure bellissime: Minerva uscita dal cervello di Giove, la medema che produce la prima pianta d'olivo, e Nettuno l'acqua marina, et il Cavallo, Teseo havendo vinto il Tauro di Maratona e portandone il Trionfo in Atene, gl'Amori di Giove, la matamorfosi d'Io in Vacca, la guerra de Lapiti e di Centauri, il (*p. 10*) combattimento di Teseo, e degl' Atteniensi contro l'Amazzoni, la Battaglia di Maratona commandata da Alcibiade contro li Persiani; la maggior' parte di queste figure erano di[11] mano di Fidias e Prassitele; hora tutto è rovinato. A man sinistra di questo Tempio si vede un altro piccolo Tempio, secondo alcuni di Minerva πολιαδος; altri dicono che fosse il Palazzo d'Eristeo. Non restano di questo altro che i muri; questo Tempio ha di longhezza 63 piedi e ½, e di larghezza 36½ la porta è di 22 d'altezza molto ben lavorato. A canto a questo Palazzo è un altro Tempietto con sei colonne d'ordine Ionico, con cornici molto delicate; i travi sono di marmo tutti d'un pezzo di 20 piedi di lunghezza; ha il Tempio 29 piedi in lungo e 20 in largo; si dice che fosse dedicato a Nettuno, altri vogliono a Pandrosa. Vicino v'è un' altra fabrica con quattro figure di donna con una bellissima chioma sino alla cintura; queste rappresentano le quattro figlie di Eristeo, Re d'Atene, cioè Procris, Cerusa, Ectonia, et Oritia, chiamate Giacintides.

Uscendo dal Castello si trova abbasso il Teatro di Bacco, del quale non restano più che alcune vestigia di mura grossissime; sopra queste rovine hanno i Turchi fabricato il recinto esteriore del Castello. Pausanias dice che questo fosse il primo teatro del mondo; si fossero rappresentate comedie e giuochi; vi si vede la grotta dove era il Trepiè d'Apollo (*p. 11*), e di Cerusa, e la Grotta di Niobe. A piedi del Castello, vicino al Teatro di Bacco, è la Grotto di Pane et Apollo con due colonne sopra le quali erano le statue di quelli. Vi è sopra la Grotta una pietra di marmo bianca con un orologio solare. A man dritta del Castello verso il mare è una collina detta il Museo, e Pausanias racconta che colà Museo, primo poeta Greco, recitasse i suoi versi, et ivi consumato di vecchiezza morendo fu sepolto; onde la collina ne prese il nome. Sopra di questa si vede un arco di marmo bianco; alcuni vogliono che fosse l'arco di Traiano; vi sono due nicchie, una quadra, e

[10] *Ms.*, omit.

[11] *Ms.*, a short word, not recognizable, has here been erased.

l'altra ovata, con due figure senza testa; sotto quella a man destra si legge quest' inscrizione

βασ(?)ιαςος αρτιοχος Βασ(?)ιαεο αντιοχο

Quella di man sinistra è guastata; nel mezo di queste statue è una pietra di marmo in forma di colonna quadrata d'ordine Corintio con quest' inscrizione,

C: IVLIVS C: F. FABRITIO CRISPHILO PÆTUS
COS: FRATER ARVALIS SULLECTVS INTER
PRAETORIOS AB IMP: C: NERVA TRAIANO
OPTIMO AVGVSTO GERMANICO DACICO.

Sotto quest' inscrittione sono quattro figure di basso rilievo che conducono un carro con due cavalli; sopravi una figura, e dietro al carro un' altra, quest' arco è pero mezo distrutto. Di là scendendo la collina a man sinistra si trovano le prigioni dell'Areopago cavate nel rocco; una è di figura tonda, e l'altra quadra; hanno il (*p. 12*) respiro per sopra il rocco. Seguitando più avanti si vedono le rovine del Tempio di Marte; era di figura ovata, e si vedono ancora pietre lavorate alla rustica d'una grandezza e grossezza immensa che fanno giudicare della mole della fabrica. Sopra questo Tempio su la collina è il luogo dell' Areopago cavato nel rocco; si vedono ancora i gradini dove sedevano gl'Areopagiti, che giudicavano sempre allo scoperto. Seguitando pure la mede[si]ma collina si trova la chiesa sopra nominata di San Demetrio. Ritornando verso la porta del Castello in faccia di quella si vede un rocco d'altezza di 20 passi in circa chiamato il Baratros, di dove si precipitavano i rei condannati a morte. A piedi di quello è l'arcivescovado anticamente casa di San Dionisio Areopagita. Tirando a basso verso il borgo distante da quello circa 30 passi è il Tempio di Teseo, hora chiesa di San Giorgio; è ancora intiero di marmo con vestibulo, fabricato sopra 13 colonne in lungo, e sei di largo d'ordine Dorico; dentro vi erano dipinte le azioni heroiche, ma in oggi non se ne vede cosa alcuna. Di là distante due miglia in circa sono li Giardini Cepolia verso Maestro. Questi anticamente erano bellissimi; in questi era l'Accademus, overo scuola di Platone, con altre belle fabriche. Vi era ancora il primo tempio dedicato all'Amore, ma di quello non si vedono vestigia alcuna. Poco distante del tempio nel luogo dove era l'antica Piazza d'Atene si vede (*p. 13*) un' Leone di marmo di 12 piedi di lungo, in atto di riposo; ve ne era un altro vigilante nella Fortezza, et un terzo a Marina nel Porto Lione che ancora si vede, e questi significavano che mentre che il Porto e la Fortezza fossero custoditi con vigilanza, la città poteva riposare sicuramente. Vicino a questo in faccia d'una porto del borgo si vede una colonna in piedi sopra la quale era anticamente la statua d'Isocrate, famoso oratore Greco. Girando intorno al borgo per andare al fiume Illisus si trova il luogo chiamato in hoggi Licodimos, che anticamente era il Liceo di Aristotele. Vi era un' Tempio d'Apollo, dove fu sepolto Neoptolemo; questo adesso è chiesa detta Sotiros, cioè del Salvatore. Di là distante circa 300 passi è il Monte Anchesmus uno de quattre principali dell' Attica, i quali sono Parnates a Maestro; Pentelicus a levante, di là cavavano i marmi per fabricare, Himetus a scirocco tanto decantato dai poeti per essersi sopra di quello trovato la prima volta il miele, e per li semplici e piante odorifere de quali abonda; et Anchesmus a tramontana, hoggi della Collina di San Giorgio sopra di quelle anticamente era una statua di Giove Anchesmus. A piedi di questa sono le rovine d'un Acquedotto, del quale si vedono ancora due colonne in piedi d'ordine Dorico con architrave con questa inscrizione imperfetta. IMP: CAESAR T: AELIUS

AVG: PIVS COS: III. TRIB: POT: II. P. P.
AQVÆ DUCTVM IN NOVIS CONSVMAVIT.

(*p. 14*) questo acquedotto andava a riferire nella città da quella distante circa 250 passi Geom. era il fiume Illissus, nel quale sboccava un altro fiume detto Eridanus, ma di questi due fiumi dell' Attica tanto vantati dai Greci non si vede che il letto senza acqua. Sopra di questo si vedono le rovine d'un ponte con 3 archi di 18 piedi di largo; il ponte ha di lunghezza 12 passi Geom. Da questo ponte si passava all' Amfiteatro d'Herode Ateniense, overa Stadium, dove si rappresentavano i guochi publici e combattimenti di fiere, che escivano da una grotta naturale, lungo 40 passi Geo. e larga 4; questa da una parte riferiva nell'Amfiteatro, e dall' altra su la Collina Agra a piedi del Monte Himetus. Questo Teatro haveva doppie muraglie delle quali si vedono ancora le vestigia; ha di lunghezza 230 passi e di larghezza 40; era fabricato sopra la Collina Agra, luogo dove Diana fece la sua prima caccia. Vi si vedono ancora le rovine d' Tempio dedicatoli con colonne di differenti ordini et inregolari. Di là distante circa due miglia e mezo è il luogo detto Angelotipos verso levante, cioè Giardino degl' Angeli; vi era anticamente la scuola di Zenone; il luogo è veramte delitioso, ma quasi rovinato. Dall' Anfiteatro d'Erode andando verso la città, lungo il fiume si vedono le vestigia d'un tempio dedicato alle Muse in distanza di 100 passi dal Teatro; e di là poco distante a piedi del fiume si trova una collina; sopra vi è (*p. 15*) il Tempio di Cerere, dove Hercole fu prima initiato a i misteri di quella Dea. Vi era il sepulcro di Pirro, il quale essendo venuto per sorprendere Atene fu ammazzato nel passare il fiume da una freccia scoccata dalle mani d'una donna; i Greci credendo che fosse Cerere gli dedicorno quel tempio, il quale è hoggi chiesa dedicata alla Beata Vergine. In faccia di quello dall' altra parte del fiume, si vedono le rovine del famoso Palazzo di Adriano. Era fabricato sopra 300 colonne di marmo; ne restano solo 17 in piedi d'ordino Corintio e canellate, con un arco; sopra vi queste due inscrizione per difuori εδης Αδριανὸ ὅde (*sic*) τεςεο πολις e per il dentro εδις τεςεὸ και τὸ Αδριανὸ πολις. A 60 passi di questo sopra il fiume Illisus era la fontana Εννεακρανον ò le nove fontane perchè gettava per nove bocche; ora ne restano due sole con acqua buonissima. Di quella bevevano anticamente per diventar poeti. Il fiume scorre da levante a ponente, e va a sboccare nel Porto Munichio; vi era anticamente un Tempio di Diana, et il sepolcro di Temistocle e se ne vedono qualche vestigia. Vi sono due altri Porti, cioè il Porto Falera e Porto Pireo, hoggi Porto Lione. Questo è il più frequentato per esser migliore fondo e più coperto e distante dalla città cinque miglia. Queste sono le antichità, che in hoggi si ritrovano intorno di Atene; dalla strada della Marina entrando nel borgo si ritrova il Tempio di Giove Olimpio, o secondo altri il Palazzo di Pericles; si vedono solo 18 colonne tutte d'un (*p. 16*) pezzo di belissimo marmo di ordine Corintio; girava questo tempio secondo Pausanias cinque stadij, e vi era una statua di Giove Olimpio simile a quella di Roma. Vi erano molte altre statue, che in hoggi non si vedono più. Poco distante di quello è l'arco di Augusto dedicatoli sotto il Governatore della città Eucles Maratoniense, e sotto l'arconte Nisias, figlio di Serapione, è fabricato sopra quattro colonne di marmi, che sostentano un architrave d'una pietra sola; sopra vi una inscrizione Greca molto longa in honore del medesimo Augusto. A qualche passi di là è la Torre di Andronicus Circes; questa è octogona, e sopra il fregio di ciascuna facciata, che hanno di largo 6 piedi Geom. vi è una statua di basso rilievo al naturale, e ciascuna di queste rappresenta un de principale venti; le quattro senza barba rappresentano i Venti Caldi, e quelle con barba i Venti Freddi che regnano in Atene; sopra ciascuna facciata della Torre vi è un Orologio Solare, e sopra la Torre era anticamente un Tritone d'argento, il quale girando mostrava con una bachetta il vento che regnava. Questa è una delle più belle antichità che si ritrovino in Atene. All' estremità del borgo nel luogo dove hora è il Convento de PP. Cappucini, si vede la Lanterna di Demostene di figura exagona con colonne piccole;

questi (*sic*) altre volte era un Tempio d'Ercole, del quale si vede la figura in basso rilievo sopra il fregio con la clava alla mano, e la pelle del leone in testa; in quella (*p. 17*) si ritirò Demostene, sino che gli si sciolse l'impedimento della lingua coll' andar ogni notte declamando a marina, e là compose quelle belle orazioni che ci restano.

Non vi sono altre antichità di rimarco in Atene, essendo stato il restante guasto dal fu[r]ore ed all' ingordigia de Barbari, che tante volte l'hanno infestata, e nuovamte da Turchi, i quali per la loro ignoranza, e per dispetto fabricavano alla loro usanza sopra le vestigia dell'antichità, e così le sepellivano con cattive muraglie, e le rubbavano alla curiosità di forastieri; chi vorrà sapere tutto quello [che] era di bello anticamente in Atene potrà sodisfarsi col legere Pausanias, Teucidide, et Aristide che diffusamente ne hanno parlato.

FINE

IV

RELATIONE delle Cose più Curiose, ed antiche, che si ritrovano in vicinanza di ATENE[1]

Da Acteo nacque il nome di Attica, al parere di molti autori, il quale habitò in quella provincia molto prima di Cecrops; altri lo traggono dal nome AKTHE,[2] il quale significa riva del mare; il che viene verificato, poichè gira l'Attica più di ducento miglia, de quali ne sono 140 di mare. Al tempo di Ogigus, figlio di Nettuno, restò innondata 190 anni, finchè la restituì nel suo primiero stato Cecrope l'anno del mondo 2400. Egli fabricò la Fortezza di Athene, nomata Cecropia, la qual hora sta ridotta sotto il dominio della Serenissima Republica di VENETIA. Divise parimente l'Attica in 4 parti, co' nomi di

[1] On this pamphlet see above, §I, notes 1, 175. There are marked variations in the order in which the antiquities are mentioned in the manuscript (III) and the pamphlet (IV). The parallel subjects in the two documents are given below, the page references to the pamphlet preceding those to the manuscript which are italicized, without further indication of the source.

Introduction, as above, 150–151; *144–145.* — The four mountains, 151; *148.* — Ilissus and bridge, 151; *149.* — Theatre of Herodes Atticus; Temple of Diana; Angelotipos; Temple of the Muses; Temple of Ceres; Palace of Hadrian; Enneakrounos, 151; *149.* — Chiesa del Salvatore, 151; *148.* — Two columns at foot of Acropolis; Cave of Apollo and of Pan; Sun-dial; Theatre of Bacchus (preceding the columns), 151–152; *147.* — Museion; Arch of Trajan with inscription and relief, 152; *147–148.* — 1. Three prisons of Areopagus; 2. Chiesa di S. Demetrio Bombardiere; 3. Temple of Mars; 4. Areopagus; 5. Olive grove and Academy (Giardini Cepolia), 152; *148,* but the order here is 1, 3, 4, 2, 5. — Baratrum; Chiesa di S. Dionisio l'Areopagita; Theseum; 152; *148.* — Olympieum; Arch of Augustus; Tower of Andronicus; Temple of Hercules (Lantern of Demosthenes), 152, 153; *149.* — Column of Isocrates, 153; *148.* — First and Second Gates of the Acropolis, 153; *145.* — Grotto of Niobe, 153; *147.* — Third Gate of Acropolis, 153; *145.* — Arsenal of Lycurgus (Propylaea) and explosion, 153; *146.* — Nike Temple; Tower with statue of Minerva, 153; *146.* — Tempio di Minerva (Parthenon), 153; *146.* — Temple of Minerva Polias (Erechtheum), 153; *147;* Temple of Neptune, 153; *147.* — Altre antichità non veggonsi, 153; *145.* — Pausanias le descrive, 154; *150.*

[2] AKTHC (?)

Cecropia, Indigena, Actea, e Maritima, cioè Cecropia dal di lui nome, Indigena, cioè quartiere del paese; Actea in memoria di Acteo suo suocero; e Maritima è quella che stendesi verso il mare. Sorse nel Castello di Athene una fontana di acqua salsa, e vi nacque un' olivo, il che diede motivo agli Ateniesi di ricorre all' Oracolo di Delfo per indagarne il significato; egli rispose che dovesse la città a Minerva o a Nettuno essere consagrata, ch'intanto raccogliessero i voti degli huomini e delle donne, le quali in maggior numero si ritrovarono, e perciò fu dedicata la città a questa dea, ed anche addimandata col suo nome, il quale in greco è *Athen,* overo Athene. Poco dopo sopragiunse una inondatione che fece danni gravissimi nell' Attica, il che diede a credere che ciò potesse essere un castigo di Nettuno; e però vollero vendicarsi contra le donne, e fecero una legge dalla quale restavano per sempre mai prive d'entrare nel consiglio, ch'elle non potrebbero imporr' il nome a' figliuoli loro, che sendo maritate non havrebbero altro nome che quello de' mariti; il che fu determinato al tempo di Moise. Teseo, Re decimo, radunò assieme i quattro quartieri dell' Attica, e ne fece una città sola di 25 miglia di giro. Vi sono in questa provincia quattro montagne rinomate, cioè *Himettus,* tanto decantata da' poeti, sopra la quale fu ritrovato il primo miele, che vi si coglie in abbondanza, come parimente ogni sorte di fiori, ed herbe odorifere, ed è situato al sirocco della città di Athene; *Parmethes* giace a maestro; Pentaticu è a levante, dalle di cui viscere fu tratta la maggior parte de' marmi, che ancor oggidì fanno vaga pompa in Athene; *Arichesmus,* monticello lontano dalla città di circa 250 passi geometrici, la quale volgesi verso tramontana, oggidì vien chiamato collina di S. Giorgio; per lo passato sulla cima stava una statua di Giove. A piè di quel monte era un' aquedotto, ora non si veggon' altro che due colonne sole di marmo di ordine ionico, co' capitelli suoi, e sopra vi si vede la seguente iscrizzione:

IMP.CAESAR TELIUS
AUG. PIUS C. III TRIB: POT. II. P.P.
AQUAEDUCTUM IN NOVIS CONSUMAVIT.

Lungi dalla città circa 250 passi dalla parte di sirocco, vedesi il letto del fiume Ilisso, dove è un ponte di tre volti, sopra il quale si passava per andar all' Amfiteatro (*p. 2*) di Herode Ateniese, dove rappresentavano i giuochi, e vi si faccevano combattimenti di fiere. Il ponte è mezo rovinato, e nel letto del fiume non v'è più acqua. La parte del Teatro dove combattevano le fiere è ancor intiera, ma restano solamente alcuni vestigi delle mura; sta volto verso quella piazza il ponte. Uscivano le fiere d'un' antro incavato nel sasso profondo di 40 passi, che stendesi sin' alla collina *Agra,* luogo venerabile per la prima caccia che vi fece Diana; vi si veggon ancora le rovine d'un Tempio consagrato a questa Dea alle radici del monte Imetus. Di là ad un miglio e mezo in circa a levante vi si vede il luogo detto *Anghele Typos,* cioè Horto degli Angioli, dove altrevolte Zenone faceva scuola. Un po più in giù del fiume, che passa da levante a ponente lungi dal ponte 140 passi, vi restan' ancora alcuni vestigi del Tempio delle Muse. Lungo la corrente del fiume incontrasi una collinetta che porta il Tempio di Cerere, dove fu ricevuto Hercole a' misteri segreti di quella dea; è quasi intiero quel Tempio, ed oggidì è consagrato alla MADRE DI DIO. Di là dal fiume verso la città è il rinomato Palazzo di Adriano, di cui rimangono ancora 17 colonne in piedi, di ordine Corinthio, di 300 che erano, & è ancor' intiera la facciata dell'architettura medema. Quindi a 50 passi è la fonte Eunea Kranon, overo le nove fontane sulla riva del fiume, e chi bramava esser poeta beveva di quell' acqua; alla destra del Palazzo di Adriano sta la chiesa del Salvatore, già Tempio d'Apolline nel Liceo, dove leggeva la filosofia Aristotele; sin' ora quel luogo ha conservato il nome di Licodimus. Quindi caminato verso il Castello a piè di esso veggonsi due colonne,

e la grotta a' dei Apolline e Pane; in cima alla grotta sopra pietra di marmo sta intagliato un' orologio solare; altre volte sopra le dette colonne erano le statue di questi dei; sono vicine al circuito esteriore della Fortezza, fabricate sopra le rovine del Teatro di Bacco, che fu il primo dove rappresentavansi i givochi e comedie; ancor oggidì ne rimangon i vestigij di esso, e per lo passato vi si mettevano le statue di coloro che colla compositione di comedie o tragedie meritavano qualche nome. Dirimpetto al Teatro dalla parte dell' Austro vi sta una collina dove Musè, primo poeta Greco, si diletava di cantar' i versi suoi, e consumato dalla vecchiezza vi morì e fu sepolto. Sopra la stessa collina è l'arco di Trajano che non è in tutto intiero, nella di cui parte superiore sono due nicchij, cioè uno quadrato, e mezz' ovato l'altro, con figure senza teste in essi; a piè di questi a man destra leggesi questa iscrittione:

C. IULIUS C. F. FABRITIO
CHRISIPHILO PAETUS COS
FRATER ARVAELIS SULLECTUS
INTERPRATORI COS. AB IMP.
C. NERVAE TRAINO OPTIMO
AUGUSTO GERMANICO DACICO.

Sotto questa iscrizione sono quattro figure di basso rilievo. A man destra se ne vede un' altra che regge quattro cavalli, che tiran' il carro dov'è l'Imperator Trajano, e dietro al carro è un' altra figura; la maggior parte di queste figure sono rovinate, & quasi tutte senza capo.

Nello scendere le colline a man sinistra 40 passi più avanti ritrovansi le tre Carceri dell' Areopago incavate nella rupe; l'una è di figura quadrata, & le altre due di figura tonda. Seguitando poscia a man sinistra s'incontra la chiesa di San Demetrio Bombardiere, luogo dove fu posta la batteria di cannoni de' Venetiani (*p. 3*). Più avanti è il Tempio di Marte di figura ovata; restano le sole rovine con pietre di grandezza e grossezza straordinaria. Sopra questo Tempio vi è il luogo dell'Areopago, tutto tagliato nel sasso; vi sono rimasti i gradini dove sedevan gli Areopagiti che a scoperto sempre giudicavano. Quindi al bosco degli Vlivi presso al Monte Parnethes sono i Giardini Cepolia dov'era l'Accademia, o la Scuolo di Platone. Di quà del Castello è una rupe altre volte chiamato Baratrum, dalla di cui cima venivano gettati i rei e condannati. A piè di questa rupe giace l'Arcivescovado, e per lo passato era la chiesa di San Dionisio Areopagita. Seguitando poi giù dalla parte della città è il Tempio di Theseo consegrato a San Giorgio; è intiero in tutto ed ha 12 colonne in lunghezza, e 6 in larghezza di ordine Ionico; vi stavano depinte le attioni heroiche di Theseo nella parte interiore, ma ora non resta più niente di distinta. Di là nell' entrare nella città ritrovasi il Tempio di Giove Olimpico, che gli dedicò l'Imperator' Adriano; il giro di quel Tempio era di 4 stadij, ma vi restan' in piedi di presente dieci colonne sole di ordine Corintio, tutte di un pezzo di bellissima pietra di 3 piedi di diametro, e 24 di altezza. Queste sono le più belle che sian' in Atene. Un poco più avanti a man dritta è il Tempio o Arco di Trionfo di Augusto, che gli fu dedicato sotto il Capitano Eucles Marotoniano, e sotto l'arconte Nisia figlivolo di Serapione; vi sono 4 colonne intiere sopra le quali sta un architrave con iscrizzione greca in honore di Augusto.

Più in su è la Torre di Andronico in figura ottogona; sono due passi di lunghezza le facciate, e sopra di esse è per cadauna una figura di alto rilievo di grandezza più che naturali; lequali figure rappresentano gli otto venti principali, opera di valente ed ardito artefice; le 4 figure con la barba figuran' i venti freddi che soffian' in Atene, e le altre 4

senza barba i venti calide (*sic*); sopra cadauna facciata è un orologio solare, e nel passato era un Tritone di argento che girava, ed accennava con un bastoncino qual vento soffiava; questa è una delle più belle e più sane antichità di Atene. Nel Convento de' PP. Capucini era il Tempio di Hercole; poscia servì di Scuola a Demostene, oggidì vien detto la lampada di Demostene di figura essagona con sei colonne, e la figura di Hercole di basso rilievo colla vistità e la pelle del lione. Fuori della porta che conduce al Tempio di Theseo è una colonna sopra la quale era la statua d'Isocrate gran Filosofo ed oratore greco. Rimpetto al Baratrum è la prima porta del Castello; sono cinque in tutto, fabricate da Pericle, e ne fu l'architetto Mericle. Sopra la prima porta è un basso rilievo di due figure che si porgon la mano l'un all' altra, e dal di sopra vi sta scritta la parola Kaire, cioè, Saluto; la seconda è un pezzo di marmo con iscrizzione greca che significa Flavio Settimo, Marcellina Sacerdotessa de' Dei e Protettori de' Givochi Publici; egli fece reedificare le porte a spese sue, ed oggidì sta rovesciata la pietra; tra la prima e la seconda porta scendendo i gradini o scalini che vann' al Teatro di Bacco, si vede la grotta di Niobe; vi era nello passato una pietra che la figurava. Sopra la 3 porta è un' Aquila di marmo per significar la dominatione de' Romani; passando poi alla quarta vi si vede il palazzo magnifico dell' Arsenale di Licurgo, figlivolo di Licofante; serviva d'arsenale a' Turchi, e fu incendiato dal fulmine che accese le polveri per divina vendetta conforme dicono i Greci, perchè nella vigilia della festa di San Demetrio aveva fatto sparar un cannone contra la chiesa di quel santo, con intentione anche di rovinar il restante nel giorno seguente con quattro cannoni apparecchiati (*p. 4*) per tal facenda; ma la notte caddè il fulmine nel 1645,[3] e fu abbrucciato l'Agà con tutta la sua famiglia, eccettuatane una delle sue figlivole la qual' era andata a dormire da una sua parente; con tutto ciò vi si veggon' ancora in piede 16 colonne colla figura del Palazzo; a man destra sono le rovine del picciol Tempio della Dea Vittoria involvere che significa Vittoria senz' ale, fabricato presso alla muraglia dalla di cui cima buttòssi Egeo.

Segue doppo la Torre quadrata sopra la quale la statua di Minerva era posta, e dirempetto stava il famoso [Tempio] di Minerva, che più a giorni nostri erasi conservato, ed oggidì è rovinato dalle Bombe, le quali accendendo un magazino di polvere l'hanno fatto saltar in aria quasi tutto. Era fabricato sopra 56 colonne di altezza di 42 piedi, e di 5 di diametro; la lunghezza sua era di 42 passi, e la larghezza sua era di 17; ma ora è tutto sfigurato. Fu chiamato Parthenon questo Tempio è dedicato ad una Dea Vergine — overo hecatom, cioè di 100 piedi pigliando solo il corpo del Tempio, e lasciando le colonne; l'intercolonnare, ed il provaos (*sic*), che fanno 100 altri piedi e più; Calistene, e Tesimis, ne furono gli architetti, nel volto del Tempio eran' intagliati di alto rilievo sopra la prima facciata ciò che ancora si vede, cioè i Trionfi della Nascita di Minerva, la figura di Giove, i cavalli che tiran il carro dove siede Minerva, due figure che rappresentano l'Imperator' Adriano e la di lui moglie; seguono poi altre figur (*sic*), il Consiglio di Dei, & nelle altre facciate era Minerva producendo la prima pianta degli vlivi, e Nettuno l'acqua del mare, Theseo che vinse il Toro di Marathon, e che ne portò in Atene il trionfo, la morte di Giove, la metamorfosi d'Io in vacca, la guerra de' Lafiti e Centauri, la battaglia di Marathon vinta da Alcibiade. A man destra è il Tempio di Minerva Poliado, nella di cui facciata sono quattro statue di donne intiere, le quali sono le figlivole di Eritreo, sessantesimo Re di Atene; il loro nome è Procris, Crausa, Cetonica, Orthoristos. A destra del Tempio di Minerva Poliados è il picciol Tempio di Nettuno di squisitissima architettura con dieci colonne di ordine Ionico, e nel volto eran' incastrate pietre pretiose, ed ancora vi si vede il lapis lazuli, corniole ed altre pietre; le pietre tra-

[3] On the date see above, p. 146.

versanti sono di marmo tutte di un pezzo, ed attorno al Tempio è una cornice di opera delicatissima.

Altre antichità non veggonsi nel Castello di Atene, tutto essendo stato consumato. Pausania[s] le descrive diffusamente con molto altre che oggidì non si veggono essendo state rovinate dal tempo o del furore de' Barbari.

[4]In Venetia a S. Maria Formosa, con Lic. de' Sup. per Antonio Bosio, e dallo stesso si vendono sopra il Ponte di Rialto all' insegna della FEDE

Quivi pure si vende la Carta Generale Geografica della Morea, con la Pianta delle Città intorno, e distinta notitia di que' Paesi.

Frà poco darà alla luce un curioso Libretto del Successo delle gloriose Campagne Terrestri, e Maritime del presente Anno 87. con varie curiosità degne di particolar riflesso.

Registrar, nel Magistrat. Eccell. degl' Essecut. contro la Biastemma. Carl' Anton, Grad. Nod.

[4] In the Florence copy the three following paragraphs are in italic type; the registration notice in small roman.

CHAPTER V

A Visit to Athens in 1699

THE long war, which the allied forces of the Empire, Poland, Venice, and Russia so successfully waged against the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century, brought special hardships to the Aegean islands. If their towns were not sacked nor their inhabitants enslaved, as was the case on the mainland during the active military operations, yet they were forced to buy exemption from plunder by heavy contributions in money or kind, faithfully collected by the Venetian fleet, while the Turks, so far as their general weakness at sea permitted, exacted in full measure the usual taxes, and corsairs, both Christian and Mohammedan, preyed alike on belligerents and neutrals. Under such conditions all normal commerce must have been completely disorganized, even though neutral ships seem to have plied somewhat freely between belligerent ports.[1]

It was, therefore, natural that when on January 26, 1699, peace was at length restored by the treaty of Carlowitz, the French should promptly take steps to revive the fairly prosperous trade which they had enjoyed before the war. Accordingly when Charles, Comte de Ferriol, the new French ambassador to the Porte, went to Constantinople, he seized the opportunity to visit on the way the chief French consulates in the Aegean, where, in his own words, "je rétablis l'ordre et le repos qui avoient été troublés pendant la guerre, et par la division de notre nation assez fréquente dans les pays étrangers."[2]

[1] The *Avvisi* of Venice frequently note the arrival of foreign ships — French, English, Genoese, and others — from such Turkish ports as Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria, and these ships often called at intervening points. A Genoese ship sailing from Athens on September 21, 1687, brought to Venice the first news of the arrival of Morosini at Piraeus. See *Lambros,* Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, XVIII, 1924, p. 269, from the *Avviso* of the Inquisitori di Stato, October 25, 1687 (Venice, Archivio di Stato, ***Avvisi di Venezia,* 1687–1711, Busta 705).**

[2] From the report of Ferriol to the King at the end of his mission in 1711, published by J.-L. d'Usson, Marquis de Bonnac, *Mémoire historique sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople,* ed. Charles Schefer (Paris: 1894), p. 114. Ferriol also refers to his efforts in his letters (see below, note 4). Thus he writes from Smyrna to the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles on November 15, 1699:

Je crois avoir bien employé mon temps, ayant pris touttes les cognoissances nécessaires pour le bien de vostre commerce, et ayant fait rendre justice aux François répandus dans les isles à qui les insulaires avoient fait quelque tort; l'exemple de Constantin Condilly qui estoit le tiran de Paros pendant la guerre en fait foy (p. 532);

and again on November 25 to the King:

Quelque désir que j'aye de me rendre à Constantinople, je n'ay pu abréger nostre navigation; cependant je n'ay pas laissé de mettre à profit mon séjour dans les isles, . . . et j'ay fait chastier les petits tirans qui profitant des désordres de la guerre, pilloient la nation, et les capitaines de nos bastiments qui y abordoient (p. 534).

The story of this voyage, which by reason of contrary winds, long stays in port, and inevitable deviations from the direct route lasted nearly five months,[3] is told in the letters of Ferriol, written during its course, and in the diary of an officer on the *Assuré,* one of the two men-of-war detailed to carry the ambassador and his suite to Constantinople. The letters[4] give brief accounts of conditions at the places visited and, in some detail, of Ferriol's efforts to improve and strengthen the position of the French merchants and missionaries, which had evidently been severely shaken by the long war. Since, however, Ferriol himself did not visit Athens nor even most of the western islands of the Aegean, these letters, though by no means devoid of interest, have little bearing on our present subject.

The diary,[5] which covers only the first half of the voyage, derives its chief

[3] He sailed from Toulon on July 30, 1699, and arrived at Constantinople on December 12. De La Haye-Vautelet, the predecessor of Nointel, left Marseilles on October 29, 1665, and reached Constantinople on November 30, but he stopped only at Malta (Pernot, pp. 12, 13, 18). The voyage of the Marquis de Nointel from Toulon to the Isles des Princes lasted from August 22 — he seems to have gone aboard ship on August 21 — to October 22, 1670, with only the usual visit to Malta (Vandal, p. 51; Laborde, I, pp. 91, 92). Girardin, Ferriol's predecessor, left Toulon on November 22, 1685, and reached his destination on January 10, 1686, after stopping at Tunis, Malta, Tenedos, and the Dardanelles (*Ambassades de M. le Cte. de Guilleragues et M. de Girardin,* Paris, 1687, pp. 154, 160; also published in *Le Mercure galant,* Aoust, 1687, parte II).

[4] These letters have been published from Ferriol's drafts in the Library of Ghent, *Mss. 152, 153,* by E. Varenbergh, "Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriol, Ambassadeur de Louis XIV à Constantinople," *Annales de l'Académie d'archéologie de Belgique,* XXVI, 2 Série, Tôme 6, 1870, pp. 481–865. The letters of 1699–1700 are in *Ms. 153.* They are written for the most part to Louis XIV and to Louis Phélypeaux, Comte de Pontchartrain, Secrétaire d'Etat, who in September, 1699, was appointed Chancelier de France. The news of this promotion did not reach Ferriol until after his arrival in Constantinople, for in November he wrote from Smyrna to Pontchartrain as Secretary. I have cited these letters simply as "Ferriol." I have not seen the report of this voyage by Blondel de Jouvancourt, Ferriol's Chancellor and Secretary, which is preserved in Paris in the Archives Nationales, *K,1319*[4], *No. 77* (*Mémoires de St. Simon,* ed. A. de Boislisle, VI, p. 213, n. 9, in *Les grands écrivains de France*), and so far as I know is still unpublished.

[5] Paris, Bibiliothèque Nationale, MSS., *Fonds fr. 14285.* This little manuscript (72 pages, 222 x 162 mm.) is divided into three sections: I (pp. 1–27): "Remarques Journalieres De Voyage De Constantinople En L'Année 1699." II (pp. 29–63. Pp. 28 and 30 are blank; p. 29 is given up to the long title of Part II, the text of which begins on p. 31): "Journal De La Campagne de l'Année mil sept cent que J'ay faite dans le Vaisseau Le Trident Commandé par Monsieur Le Chevalier de Beaujeu Capitaine de Vaisseau Commandant le Compagnie des Gardes de La Marine Dans le departement de Toulon. Le Vingt cinq du mois de Juin L'An 1700." This section describes a voyage off the Spanish coast and the return on September 4 to Toulon, where the author remained ill in a hospital when his captain sailed on the nineteenth with provisions for five months. Both Parts I and II are carefully and neatly written in a small but distinct hand with very few erasures or corrections. III (pp. 64–72; published below) is a rough draft of a letter describing the monuments of Athens, without title or date, and with many alterations. It is clearly the "relation" mentioned in Part I, p. 26 (see below, p. 163). The author nowhere gives his name. It might possibly be obtained from a comparison of

interest from containing the first account, so far as I know, of a visit to Athens after the departure of the Venetians in 1688;[6] but even irrespective of this it gives in effect the daily log of a French man-of-war on a cruise among the islands of the Aegean, which was clearly thought to involve some risk and call for special precautions. This was probably owing to the multitude of islands and the lack of reliable charts, unless indeed the readiness to await favorable winds under the lee of an island or in a sheltered bay was due rather to consideration for the comfort of the ambassador than to any real anxiety on the part of the officers.

Before taking up the description of Athens let us look briefly at the course followed by the *Assuré,* beginning with the diarist's account of the departure from Toulon:[7]

Le jeudi, 30 juillet, 1699. Nous sommes partis de la rade de Toulon avec le vaisseur du roy, *Le Bizarre,* de 70 pièces de canon, commandé par Monsieur Bidaud, ayant dans son bord Monsieur de Feriol (*sic*), ambassadeur de France à la Porte, et le vaisseau du roy, *L'Assuré,* de 60 pièces, commandé par Monsieur de Bagneux, et une barque du commerce chargée des hardes et ballots de Monsieur l'ambassadeur,[8] par un vent d'ouest

the rolls of the officers on the *Assuré* and the *Trident,* if they are preserved in the Archives de la Marine.

[6] After the removal of the inhabitants and evacuation of the city by the Venetians Athens remained abandoned for three years. It is true that after the Venetian failure at Negroponte the Sultan thought it best to conciliate the Greeks, but the invitation in December, 1688, to the refugees in Aegina and Salamis to return with a full amnesty seems to have met with little response (Locatelli, II, 164–165), and it was not until 1690, after the exiles had made their peace with the Patriarch at Constantinople, who had excommunicated them in 1686 for their dealings with Morosini at Nauplia, that there was a general movement to return, although even then many of the wealthier families who had been settled by the Venetians at Nauplia and other places in the Morea preferred Venetian rule and returned only after the Turkish reconquest in 1715. Athens was, therefore, much smaller and less prosperous than before the Venetian occupation, but it would seem that there was quickly a certain revival of trade, or otherwise the French would hardly have sought to reestablish their consulate as early as 1696 (see below, note 21).

[7] *Ms.,* p. 3.

[8] Ferriol explains the hiring of the barque in a letter from Toulon, July 23, 1689, to Pontchartrain (p. 523):

Les commandants des vaisseaux de Sa Majesté m'ayant dit qu'ils avoient embarqué des vivres pour six mois, et qu'ils n'avoient plus de place au fond de cale pour y mettre mes équipages et les présents destinés au Grand-Seigneur et aux puissances de la Porte, j'ay esté dans la nécessité de fretter une barque pour faire le transport, par là on ne déchargera rien des provisions embarquées, et on ne sera pas obligé de rompre les escoutilles des vaisseaux du Roy pour y faire passer mes balots dont quelques-uns sont d'une grandeur prodigieuse.

On the twenty-eighth he wrote from the *Bizarre* to the Secretary on the arrangements for his suite (p. 524):

De cent gentilshommes de ma suitte ou domestiques, M. Bidaud en a pris cinquante sur son bord, les autres sont sur l'*Asseuré* avec M. de Bagneux, ou sur ma barque.

Such a suite was felt necessary to maintain the prestige of France at the Porte, especially

fort frais, ayant le Cap au sud quart de sud-ouest, faisant selon l'estime deux lieues par heure avec nos quatre corps de voilles, les deux ris pris dans les huniers.

The last clause of this entry is characteristic. Regularly when under sail the diarist gives the log for the day — the direction of the wind, the course steered, the progress made, and the approximate position of the ship.

They arrived at Malta on August 5, and the author devotes four pages to a brief description of the city and harbor. They stayed until the fifteenth when they sailed for Crete, and on the twentieth, being then south of Cerigo, the barque was ordered to leave the other ships and proceed directly to Constantinople with the servants, that they might prepare the apartments against the arrival of the ambassador.

On the evening of the next day they reached the mouth of Suda Bay, but calms and contrary winds prevented their entrance, and it was not until three days later that they were able to anchor at its foot, where they found a wretched Greek village, but no food; for, as we learn in a statement that strikes a very modern note, the Turks take whatever they want without paying and the Greeks dare not resist. Here they remained until September first, and our author took advantage of this stay to spend a day at Canea. Its fortifications, which he describes briefly, had been restored by the Turks, who had also provided a garrison of Janissaries. The Greeks were not numerous, the inhabitants being chiefly Turks and Jews. There was, however, some trade, for there was a French consul, who had been summoned by Ferriol to the ships, a "Député de la Nation," who represented the French merchants,[9] and a Treasurer for the Commerce. Ferriol dined with the consul, "qui nous avoit assez bien reçus," — which seems somewhat feeble praise.

From Canea they sailed to Candia, where there was only a French vice-consul and a few artisans.[10] It would seem, however, that the chief reason for this call was Ferriol's desire to renew an old acquaintance with the Turkish governor of Crete, Ali Pasha, who as Grand Vizier had commanded the army of the Sultan in Hungary, when in 1692 Ferriol had been sent to Turkey for the first time.[11]

against the ambassadors of the Empire, England, and Holland. Ferriol writes to the King from Pera on February 10, 1700, of the arrival of the ambassador of the Empire:

Il a amené avec luy un prince de Holstein, et neuf comtes de l'empire avec 3000 domestiques (p. 566).

Ferriol's suite of 100 seems very moderate in comparison.

[9] *Ms.*, p. 14. Ferriol to Pontchartrain, September 8, 1699, de la Fosse de Candie:

J'y fis venir (i.e., to Suda Bay) le consul de la Canée et la nation qui consiste en trois marchands (pp. 527–528).

[10] Ferriol to Pontchartrain, place and date as above:

Il n'y a dans la ville de Candie que le vice-consul, son chancelier qui fait le fonction de député, son interprète et quelques artisans (p. 528).

[11] This was not Ferriol's first visit to Candia, as appears from an account of his services addressed to the King:

J'entrai dans les mousquetaires en 1669, pour aller en Candie, où je reçus deux blessures; en 1672

The governor received his old friend most hospitably, and the visit was prolonged for six days, during which our author visited the fortifications, which had been partially restored by the Turks since the great siege ended in 1669. He thought that the defense might have been successful but for the dissensions among the defenders, who were of different nationalities, all claiming equal authority and refusing to obey a single commander. He also noted the very small harbor for the galleys.

Finally, on the evening of September 6,[12] they sailed for Melos, but the winds were contrary and by the morning of the ninth they were only off Santorin (Thera), south-west of Namfia (Anaphi), and in sight of three islands, Nio (Ios), Sitine (Sikonos), and Policandre (Pholegandros). The next day they saw Melos, but by the eleventh the gale was so violent that they were obliged to seek shelter under the southwest coast of the island, being unable to reach the entrance to the northern harbor. Here they remained three days before the wind dropped sufficiently to enable them to pass around the east side of the island, between Argentière (Kimolos) and Sifanto (Siphnos), so as to enter the great harbor of Melos, where, as the high winds still continued, they remained two

Votre Majesté me donna une compagnie de cavalerie et en 1675, elle m'envoya en Hongrie commander un régiment de Tartares et de dragons; . . . enfin jai fait sept campagnes avec les grands vizirs ou les Sultans avant d'être ambassadeur (Paris, Bibl. Nat., MSS., *Nouv acq. fr. 6530,* fol. 103r; Saint-Priest, p. 246).

In his report on his embassy, rendered to the King on August 10, 1711, after mentioning his appointment as ambassador, he continues:

J'avois déjà fait . . . sept campagnes en Hongrie; les quatre premières avec le grand vizir de Sultan Mustapha (Bonnac, *op. cit.,* p. 114).

To Pontchartrain he wrote from Candia on September 8:

Aly Pacha qui commande dans la ville et dans tout le royaume a esté Grand-Visir il y a huit ans, c'est le même qui commandoit l'armée d'Hongrie en 1692 lorsque Sa Majesté m'envoya en Turquie pour la première fois (Ferriol, p. 528).

On the same day he wrote the King:

J'ay reçu du pacha, mon ancien amy, toutte sorte d'honneurs; il a envoyé à ma rencontre lorsque j'ay mis pied à terre pour l'aller voir, toutte sa maison et les plus beaux chevaux du monde, très richement enharnachés, toutte l'infanterie estoit sous les armes, et le peuple en foule dans les rues. . . . Ma visite finie, il me donna des chevaux et plusieurs de ses officiers pour m'accompagner sur les ramparts, et pour visiter les fortifications de la place, lui ayant tesmoigné que j'en avois un extrème désir par ce que je m'estois trouvé au siège de la ville dans le temps de sa prise. . . . Je remarquay qu'à mesure que je passois d'un bastion à l'autre, les janissaires quittoient le poste que je venois de visiter pour aller faire parade dans ceux que je devois voir, ce qui avoit esté ordonné pour grossir le garnison à mes yeux (Ferriol, p. 531).

Ferriol took pains to have one of his officers make a plan of the fortifications from the bastion of St. André to the coast, which formerly had been the strongest part of the defences, but was now the weakest and the point where an attack would be easily and speedily successful.

[12] The diarist is explicit. Sunday, September 6, at 9 p.m., they sailed from Candia, and on September 8 were off "Christiane," in sight of Santorin and "Namfia" (Anaphi). Ferriol's two letters from the *Bizarre,* "mouillé dans la Fosse de Candie," are probably misdated on September 8, for the daily entries in a diary are likely to avoid such errors.

weeks.[13] They found that the marshes here yielded a very white and good salt; the white wine too was excellent. But the Greek village was wretchedly poor — a condition that Pitton de Tournefort in 1700, very shortly after Ferriol's visit, attributes to the prohibition of the French corsairs, who had had here a favorite rendezvous and gathering place for their fleets for raids,[14] and having thus brought great prosperity to the island were regretted by the islanders, whose impoverishment increased the insolence of the Turks.[15]

The voyage had now lasted seven weeks, but barely three had been spent under sail, and it may well be that Ferriol began to fear undue delay in his arrival at Constantinople, if he persisted in visiting all the Greek ports himself. Whatever his reason, on September 21 the *Assuré* received orders to part company with the *Bizarre* on leaving Melos, and after calling at certain places in the Morea and at Athens and Scio to rejoin the ambassador at Smyrna.[16]

However, it was not until the twenty-fifth that they were able to leave the bay and sail for Fermina (Thermia), as usual against a strong wind, so that they spent most of the night off Serfon (Seriphos), and when on the following day, they tried to reach their destination, the gale carried away their fore-yard, compelling them to put back to Argentiera, where they anchored in the bay sheltered

[13] Ferriol refers to this part of his voyage in a letter to Pontchartrain from Smyrna:

Nous passames à la veue de l'isle de Santorin, et nous vinmes mouiller dans la port de Mille après avoir resté fort tourmentés par un vent de nort qui nous contraignit d'y demeurer douze jours.

Cette isle fait peu de commerce, il n'y vient que du vin, j'y trouvae peu d'affaires (Ferriol, p. 536).

[14] B. Randolph, *The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago.* Oxford, 1687, p. 33 (see above, p. 66, note 1): "Here Privateers do usually come to make up their Fleets, and it is most commonly their Rendezvous, at their first coming into the *Archipelago.* There is but one Town, which stands in a very fine plaine, being very well built with good stones." Unlike our author, he thought the wine "very ordinary" (p. 32).

[15] J. Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du Roi,* Lyon, 1717, I, p. 177:

La ville de Milo qui contient près de cinq mille hommes est assez bien bâtie, mais elle est d'une saleté insuportable . . . (p. 179) Cette Isle abondoit en toutes sortes des biens dans le temps que les Corsaires François tenoient la mer en Levant: on y parle encore des grandes actions de Mrs de Beneville Temeriourt, du Chevalier d'Hocquincour, d'Hugues Cruvelier (etc.) . . . & autres amenoient leurs prises en cette Isle, comme à la grande foire de l'Archipel; les marchandises s'y donnoient à bon marché; les bourgeois les revendoiént à profit, et les équipages des vaisseaux y consommoient les denrées du pays.

Cf. Tournefort's statements about the island of Argentiera (p. 171):

Cette isle est devenuë tout à fait pauvre depuis que le Roy ne souffre plus de Corsaires François au Levant. L'Argentière étoit leur rendez-vous et ils y dépensoient en debauches horribles ce qu'ils venoient de piller sur les Turcs.

[16] Ferriol writes from Smyrna to Pontchartrain on November 25, 1699:

En partant du Mille, le vaisseau *l'Asseuré* se sépara de nous, et prit la route d'Athènes et du cap d'Oro (Doro, a cape of Negroponte), et il ne nous a rejoint que vingt jours après, aiant esté obligé de relâcher à Largentière, par les vents forcés qui ne luy permirent pas de doubler l'isle d'Andros (Ferriol, p. 537).

On this delay see below, diary for October 9 (*Vend. 9*).

by the three islands of Argentiera,[17] Melos, and "Nipoligo, appellée L'Isle Brûlé," the ancient Polyaigos. Two days sufficed to repair the damage provisionally, and on the twenty-ninth they finally anchored at Thermia. The next day was spent in giving the French consul his instructions, and then they made sail for Athens, favored by a light variable wind from the southwest.

The entry in the Diary for Thursday, October 1, commences as follows: "Nous nous sommes trouvés à la pointe du jour à deux lieues N. et S. de la côte d'Achaye et fort à l'ouest de L'Isle Longue (i.e., Makronisi). Nous avons vu de loin sur plusieurs colonnes de marbre blanc sur le haut d'un montagne que l'on nous a dit depuis à Athènes être les restes du palais d'un Gouverneur qui étoit là pour les Athèniens et où les écoliers de l'Académie d'Aristote alloient passer leurs vacances."[18] Against a northwest wind they tacked up the Saronic Gulf to within five leagues of Athens, when a sudden squall forced them to change their course and head for Perinissa[19] on the other side of the Gulf. But the squall soon passed, the wind dropped and they headed north for Athens, where they finally arrived after tacking all night. For their stay there we may now turn to the text of the Diary.[20]

Vend. 2. Le 2 à la pointe du jour on a envoyé un pilote sonder à l'entrée et dans le fonds du port que l'on ne connoissoit pas, et il nous a rapporté qu'il y avoit bon fonds partout,

[17] The anchorage at Argentiera (Kimolos) was sheltered on the southwest by Melos and on the south-east by Polinos (Polyaigos). See Randolph, *op. cit.*, p. 34:

Argentiero lyes *in length* N^{o} and S^{o} having another Island to the East called *Polina,* tho most known by the name of *Isola Bruciata* or *burnt Island;* between these Islands is a very good road for ships and Gallys. The *Venetian* Armada did much frequent this place, it lying so convenient that they might go to Sea with any wind, in case an Enemy should come to attacque them.

Bishop Sebastiani also, while going to Paros with a Venetian squadron in 1666, was caught in a violent gale, which compelled the fleet to lie to for two days off Seriphos and Siphnos:

Non cessando però la furia de' venti, fù poi necessario di entrare frà Argentiera, Polino, e Milo, e buttar l'ancore al riparo di queste tre Isole; ove trovammo alcuni vascelli, e galeotti de' Corsari Christiani (*Viaggio, e Navigatione di Monsignor Sebastiani, F. Giuseppe di S. Maria, dell'Ordine di Carmelitani Scalzi, hoggi Vescovo di Città di Castello: nell'andare e tornare dall' Arcipelago.* Roma, 1687, p. 29).

[18] A similar explanation of the columns of Sunium seems to have been long current among the Greeks, for it is mentioned by Guillet (*Athènes ancienne et nouvelle.* Paris, 1675, p. 86):

Les Grecs d'aujourd'huy, à leur exemple les Pilotes Italiens soûtiennent qu'elles sont les debris d'un palais superbe qu'Alexandre le Grand y fit bâtir. Cela n'est pas vray. Elles sont restées d'un Temple magnifique consacré à Pallas, que les Atheniens avoient edifié sur cette hauteur.

An earlier form of this story is given by Carlier de Pinon, who visited Sunium on June 9, 1579:

En ce cap delle Colonne a esté anciennement quelque somptueux college pour les estudes, comme tesmoignent seize beaux pilliers bastis de pierres de marbre quarrées, que l'on y veoit a present, desquels les deux sont ruinez. (*Voyage en Orient,* ed. Blochet. Paris, 1920, p. 58; *R. Or. lat.,* XII, 1909, p. 169.)

Carlier's companion on this voyage, Hans Jacob von und zu Buochenbach, contents himself with giving the number of columns without any theory as to their original use (*Orientalische Reyss.* Strassburg, 1612, p. 36. See above, pp. 42, 44).

[19] Probably Pende Nisia, or perhaps Platonisi.

[20] *Ms.*, pp. 25 ff.

mais que l'entrée du dit port étoit fort étroitte ayant des écüeils des deux côtés, ce qui nous a fait prendre le party de moüiller en dehors pour avoir plus de commodité d'appareiller.

(*p. 26*) Samedy, 3. Le lendemain aussytôt que nous fûmes moüillés, Monsr de Bagneux envoya un officier avec la chaloupe à Napoli de Romanie qui est éloigné d'Athènes de quinse lieues et dont on fait le chemin moitié par mer et moitié par terre, pour faire venir le Consul à qui il avoit des ordres à donner.[21]

Lundy, 5.[22] Il arriva deux jours après sur les trois heures du soir et ayant resté à bord jusqu'à la nuit il retourna à terre. Comme nous n'étions venus dans ce pays que pour luy parler l'on étoit dans le dessein de partir le lendemain, mais les vents étant contraires et forcés nous donnerent le temps d'aller voir les ruins de la plus fameuse ville de l'an-

[21] This consul was Balthazar Goujon, who, according to A. Boppe ("Le Consultat Général de Morée et ses dépendances," *R. ét. gr.*, XX, 1907, p. 20), had been given the post by the King as early as 1696. He did not, however, enter at that time upon his office, for on September 6/18, 1698, the Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia received a request from the French ambassador at Venice that Goujon be given the *Ducale Patente* permitting him to perform the duties of consul at Athens, a post to which he had already been appointed by the King. The Captain General had promised to allow him to act as consul as soon as the *Ducale* was received (Venice, Archivio di Stato. *Cinque Savii alla Mercanzia, Indice, Materie commerciale. Consoli Esteri nel Stato Venato.* Serie 56, Busta 22, cover no. 100, Parte Prima. *Consoli francesi à Corfu, . . . Morea et Athene.* The other documents mentioned in this note are in the same Busta and cover). The reply of the Savii is dated September 27. They have made inquiries among the Greek merchants living in Venice and learned that in the past:

> Quando quei Stati erano soggetti al Dominio dei Barbari, vi era il Consolato Francese in Athene con il titolo pure di Console della Morea, che gli utili à quel Consolato spettanti erano di un percento sopra le mercantie, ch'entravano, et uscivano dà quella Provincia di raggion della detta natione Francese, et anche di raggion di quei mercanti che raccomandavano i Loro affetti alla protetione di quel Consolato.

Although the Savii seem to have looked favorably on this request and wrote the Captain General that he might permit Goujon to act as consul, the desired *Ducale* was not issued, for more than a year later, on November 28/December 11, 1699, the French ambassador renewed his request. During the interval the situation had been altered by the Peace of Carlowitz, and very possibly also by the visit of the *Assuré* to Athens, for in the request it is said that the *Ducale* was needed to secure firmly the authority of Goujon, in spite of the permission of the Captain General to act as consul *ad interim*. Goujon's position was certainly somewhat anomalous. He was consul of France in the Morea and Athens. The former was Venetian, the latter Turkish. Nevertheless the request was approved by the Savii on December 22, 1699, and accordingly the *Ducale* was duly issued under the date of January 2, 1699 (evidently *More Veneto*), not wholly to the satisfaction of Giacomo Cornaro, Capitano Generale da Mar, for he wrote a long letter on March 28, 1700 (S.N.), saying that he had obeyed orders, although he felt some misgivings at granting the privileges of the consulate to Goujon, since as consul at Athens he would now be able to communicate freely with the Turks. Goujon, he also said, had already assumed all the insignia of consul and was exercising all the rights and privileges of his office, or even, in Cornaro's opinion, going further than was permissible according to established usage; in fact the French merchants had begun to complain of his exactions. As consul Goujon evidently divided his time between Nauplia and Athens, but with the increase of trade he seems to have found this double residence burdensome, and the Venetian Archives (*loc. cit.*) contain a patent of Louis XIV, dated July 25, 1708, appointing him consul of France at Napoli di Romania. Joseph Dimitri Gaspari was then made vice-consul at Athens (Boppe, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

[22] There are no entries for October 4, 6, 7, and 10.

tiquité. On en pourra voir la relation dans une lettre écrite sur ce sujet que la[23] longueur m'a engagé de transporter à la fin de ce journal.[24]

Jeudy, 8. Nous avons appareillé de cette rade à dix heures du soir pour aller à Zea et de là à Scio par un petit vent de terre fort variable, mais à peine avons nous été hors des pointes du golfe que le vent revenant au nord forcé nous a obligé à serrer nos huniers et à courir au S.S.E. presque vent arrière.

Vend. 9. Le vent ayant continué toute la nuit et rafraischissant, le matin nous avons été contraints de relascher à Poulogne (Polinos) ne pouvant pas passer entre Zea et Ferminia pour gagner Naxos. Nous avons vu dans cette rade (*p. 27*) une barque françoise de Marseille qui venoit charger de blé, et dans celle de l'Argentière un vaisseau de 40 pièces de canon qu'un officier, qui y a été, a dit être un corsair de Ligourne qui croisoit dans l'Archipel.

Dim., 11. Le dimanche matin on a envoyé le canot à terre pour prendre des gens qui faisoient signal, et dans ce temps là on a apperçu une chaloupe pleine de gens armés qui venoit du large par la passe du nord-ouest et qui est allée débarquer son monde dans une anse du S.O. de l'Argentière. On a envoyé sçavoir ce que c'étoit et l'officier l'ayant amené à bord nous avons appris qu'elle étoit d'un corsair de Malthe qui s'étoit perdu à Sifante la nuit d'auparavent, le vent l'ayant chargé à la côte dans le temps qu'il vouloit appareiller.

Thus abruptly ends[25] the *Journal of the Voyage to Constantinople,* but Ferriol's letter to the King from Smyrna, dated November 25, furnishes the sequel of this last episode:

Un vaisseau malthois armé en course et commandé par le nommé Paul Vesin, après avoir fait beaucoup de violences dans les isles jusqu'à piller les églises grecques a eschoué auprès de l'isle de Sefo (Siphnos); une partie de l'équipage s'estant sauvé à terre, M. de Bagneux commandant du second vaisseau de Votre Majesté, que M. Bidaud avoit envoyé à Zia, Thermia et à Athènes, les a ramassé et les a fait mettre sur un corsaire livournois qui s'est trouvé dans les mers.[26]

We may now turn to our Part III, the letter describing "les ruines de la plus fameuse ville de l'antiquité."

FONDS FRANÇAIS 14285, PAGES 64–72.[27]

J'aurois fort souhaitté, Monsieur,[28] avoir un peu plus de temps à demeurer en repos pour mettre en ordre le journal de mon dernier voyage et m'acquitter de ma parole en vous l'envoyant, mais me trouvant engagé à me rembarquer incessament sans presque

[23] *Ms.*, sa?
[24] See below, note 27.
[25] See above, note 5.
[26] Ferriol, p. 536.
[27] See above, note 5. This part of the manuscript is hastily and carelessly written, unlike the two preceding *Journals,* which, as has been said, are carefully made copies; the handwriting, however, throughout is the same. There is no heading nor signature. Captions in the margin are here inserted in brackets at the beginning of paragraphs, with the exception of the "Ecoles de Pythagore." In general corrections of the author's grammatical errors have been made by insertions in brackets, by omissions in parentheses.
[28] *Ms.*, Mr

avoir le loisir de me reconnoître, je choisis un des plus beaux endroits de ceux où nous avons passé pour vous en faire la plus court[e] description que je pourray, et vous donner par là une legère marque de l'empressement avec lequel je tascheray de vous prévenir sur tout ce que je croiray capable de vous faire plaisir.

[Territoire d'Athènes] C'est d'Athènes que je veux vous entretenir, cette ville, qui s'est rendue si fameuse par le courage, la sagesse, l'esprit et l'habilité de tant de grands hommes à qui elle a donné la naissance. Elle est située au nord du Golphe de Corinthe par les 37^{d} 40^{m} de latitude, dans un pays abondant en toutes les choses nécessaire[s] a la vie. Il semble même que Minerve, à qui, si l'on en croit les poètes, cette illustre ville étoit dédiée, ait pris plaisir de la combler de bien, car sans parler des oliviers qui y viennent en grand nombre sans aucun soin, du miel fameux du mont Hymet et du beau marbre que l'on tire de la montagne de Mandelle, n'est-ce pas un grand avantage que la terre n'ait aucun besoin d'être fumée et qu'avec une petite façon devant et après les semailles elle produise en abondance toutes sortes de biens et les fruits les plus exquis?

[Port Lion] Elle a outre cela en la disposition le thrésor inestimable (*p. 65*) du commerce pour lequel elle est parfaitement placée, étant à cinque lieues de l'entrée du Golphe de Corinthe et ayant le meilleur et le plus beau port qui soit dans toute l'Achaïe. Il est composé de trois anses en forme de croix dont l'entrée, qui n'a guère que 25 toises de largeur y ayant des écueils aux deux côtes, est défendue par une double chaine, que (*sic*) se joint de part et d'autre à des murs élevés sur des jettées qui paroissent encore à fleur d'eau. Il y avoit autrefois à l'entrée de ce port un lion de marbre blanc d'une grosseur prodigieuse qui luy donnoit son nom, mais les Vénitiens, qui ont plus ruiné ce pays que pas une autre nation et qui n'y ont laissé que ce qu'ils n'ont pu en emporter, n'ont pas épargné cette pièce. On dit qu'on la voit à présent dans l'arsenal de Venise.[29]

[29] Robert de Dreux (see above, p. 15) saw (*fol. 105v–106r;* Pernot, pp. 147–148) three white marble lions, one in a field not far from the Theseum:

On me dit que ce lion étoit autrefois au milieu de la ville, et que ses deux compagnons sont deux autres lions de marbre que j'ai veüe, l'un sur les murailles du chasteau et l'autre sur le bort de la mer et sont tous deux comme faisant la sentinelle. Celui qui est qur le bort de la mer est beaucoup plus gros que celui qui est couché dans le champ; il donne le nom au port, car on lappelle le *Port Leon.*

Jacques Paul Babin, Letter to the Abbé Pécoil (see above, p. 10), *Relation de l'état présent de la ville d'Athènes* (Lyon: Chez Louis Pascal, 1674); with an Introduction by J. Spon. The references below are to the pages of this edition without further heading. Published also by Wachsmuth, I, pp. 745–763; Laborde, I, pp. 182–211.

(Pp. 9–10; Wachsmuth, p. 747) . . .

[le Port], qu'on appelle le Port Lyon, à cause d'un grand Lyon de marbre blanc qui est à l'extrémité du côté de la ville, proche d'une seule maison inhabitée . . . (p. 10) Quoy que ce Lyon soit assis sur son derrière, il porte sa tête aussi haut que sauroit faire un des plus beaux chevaux. . . . (pp. 20–21; Wachsmuth, p. 751) A cinquante pas de là (i.e., the Theseum) il y a sur un grand chemin un Lion de marbre blanc comme (p. 21) neige, couché à terre sur ses pieds; il est plus gros et plus long qu'un cheval; on diroit qu'il a servi à qualque fontaine à voir sa gueule ouverte et un grand trou qui traverse sa tête, par où un homme pourroit passer la sienne.

M. Collignon, *Relation,* from a ms. in Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Supplément grec, 301,* from which collations are given below. Collignon has shown (pp. 56–57, 59–60) that this *Relation* is connected with the journey of Nointel to Athens in 1674, that it supplements the letter of Babin, and that it was probably written by a Capuchin between 1674 and 1678.

Collignon, p. 64; fol 209v:

Un peu plus bas (i.e., than the Theseum) estoit la place publique . . . et au milieu de ladite place estoit un lion de marbre fort grand lequel est encor dans son entier hors de la teste que l'on at gasté en partye. Trois lyons estoient et sont en Attenes encor aujourd'huy, sçavoir celuy du Port Leon, lequel

[Ancienne grandeur d'Athènes] La ville, qui est à présent[30] à deux lieues, joignoit autrefois le bord de la mer. Ce n'est pas qu'après avoir été ruinée elle ait été bâtie plus loin. Mais c'est qu'elle étoit divisée en 7 grands quartiers qui tous portoient le nom de ville, et c'est pour cela qu'on l'appelloit les Athènes. L'on voit encore en plusieurs endroits et sur tout au bord de la mer des ruines qui à la veue marquent que la ville avoit plus de sept lieues de tour; mais elle est assurément bien diminuée, car elle n'a plus que quelques maisons, la pluspart à moitié ruinées, qui occupent environ une lieue de pays au milieu de la plaine de Marathon, fameuse par la victoire qu'une poignée d'Athèniens remporta sur l'armée innombrable du Roy des Perses.

[Château d'Athènes] L'on voit à droite en y allant un roche[r] escarpé de tous côtés horsmis de celuy de l'ouest (*p. 66*), audessus duquel est un château bâty, à ce que l'on dit, depuis près de 3000 ans, qui commande toute la ville dans laquelle il étoit jadis enfermé. Cette place, qui doit avoir été très considérable autrefois, n'est plus rien à présent, n'étant défendue que par de simples murailles à l'antique et sans canon. Elle est gouvernée par un Aga qui y commande trois cens (*sic*) hommes de garnison, qui selon les apparences rendroient bientôt s'ils étoient assiègés.

C'est dans ce château que l'on commence à voir quelques beaux morseaux des ruines de cette grande ville. [Ecoles de Pythagore][31] Les Escholes de Pythagore sont à gauche de la première porte en entrant. C'est où l'Aga fait sa demeure.

[Palais d'Egée] Vers la seconde porte est le palais du Roy Egée,[32] dont la mer de ce pays porte le nom. Les Turcs en faisoient leur arsenal avant le dernier siège qu'ils ont soutenu dans cette place contre les Vénetiens. Tout le corps de ce bâtiment, qui est encore fort entière, est de marbre. Auprès et sur un roche[r] fort escarpé est la tour d'où on prétend que ce Roy se précipita en voyant revenu avec de pavillons noirs les vaisseaux de son fils Thésée, à qui la joye de la victoire qu'il venoit de remporter sur le Minotaure avoit fait oublier d'en mettre de blancs.

[Temple de Minerve] A l'est de cette tour on voit le temple de Minerve, qui est un des plus beaux monumens qui soit resté de l'antiquité. Il étoit encore tout entier il y a dix ans, mais les Turcs en ayant fait leur magasin à poudre pendant le dernier siège, une bombe qui tomba dessus y mit le feu et le fit sauter avec 500 hommes. L'on peut assez juger quelle étoit la force puisqu'il n'a pu être détruit tout à fait par cette accident. Il en reste un côté qui est une galerie ouvert[e] soutenue par huit rangs de colonnes (*p. 67*) de front de 34 pieds de hauteur et que 3 hommes ont peine à embrasser. Elles sont éloignées de dix-sept pieds l'un de l'autre. Le portail est aussi debout. Sur le frontispièce on

est sur sa guarde ainsy que celuy du chasteau, et l'auttre (*fol. 210 r*) qui est celuy qui estoit dans la place publique lequel est comme (*Ms., comme* partly blotted as if erased) en posture comme se reposant, signifiant par là que comme à la marine et au chasteau se faisoit bonne garde que la ville pouvoit rester en repos.

See La Rue, above, p. 148. Three of the four lions before the Arsenal of Venice were brought there by Morosini after the fall of Athens; see further Laborde, II, pp. 61, 240–252; Wachsmuth, I, pp. 747, note 1, 751, note 2.

[30] *Ms.*, above *à présent* an interlinear *maintenant* has been written.

[31] The *Relation* begins (Collignon, p. 60):

"Premier sont les Escholes de divers filosophes comme suit . . .; (p. 61) 4me Celle des pittagoriens proche d'icelle, 'namely' Celle des stoiciens soubz l'Areopage," which in this source is the Musaion (Collignon, p. 61, note 1). Laborde, II, 189, cites the letter of an Italian officer, that mentions the *Scuola di Zenone*.

[32] Apparently in our source, the Propylaea. Cf. the *Vienna Anonymous*, Laborde, I, pp. 18, 22, § 6.

voit quantité de figures d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfans sur des chariots, qui semblent assister à un triomphe. Il y en a deux au milieu plus remarquables que les autres par leur grandeur et qui sont tout à fait hors d'oeuvres, dont l'une représente une femme et l'autre un Hercule. Les murailles qui forment les corps du bâtiment en dedans des galeries sont d'un marbre d'une blancheur éblouissante que l'on tiroit de la montagne de Mandelle, qui est au nord de la ville. Au milieu du temple on ne voit qu'un amas confus de pièces et de colonnes dont plusieurs sont remplies d'inscriptions, mais il est à présent impossible(s) de les déchifrer.

[Palais de Thésée][83] Après ce temple on doit parler du palais de Thésée qui a sans

[83] The Olympieum and Arch of Hadrian. — *Anonymus Ambrosianus* (Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, *C. 61 inf.*), publ. E. Ziebarth, *Athenische Mittheilungen,* XXIV, 1897, pp. 73–78 (see below, p. 177):

Fol. 88v; p. 74, § 4 (after a description of the walls of the city):

Verso sirocho levante sono 20 colonne in piè, per le qualle ci comprende esser sta(to) uno aedificio grande quadrangolare, e la longezza è un bon tratto d'arco over balestra, da un canto all'altro, la l(ar)gezza non se po comprender, perchè da una parte non sono alcune vestigie dove finisse si detto aedificio; sono solamente doi canti et in quello, che è verso la città, sono 9 colonne et in l'altro 11, e sono intra (*fol. 89r*) ordine c(he) mostra, che seguitasse così fino all'altro cantone; le intermedie d'alcune sono anchora in terra; alcune del tutto (a blank space of a few letters here follows) loro; par che 'l detto aedificio fusse tutto sopra le dette colonne, perchè ancora sono alcuni sassi sopra le colonne, un grand portail tout de marbre, élevé comme un arc triomphal, enrichie (*fol. 104r*) de colonnes, de et tutto lo aedificio è di fino marmoro; le colonne sono grande quanto quelle de S. Marco ma sono de pezzi.

(§ 5) Pocho lontano dal detto aedificio verso athene c'è un bel arco triumphale, et è tutto intiero e di marmor fino, nel qual sono queste letre in la fazza verso athene:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΘΗΣΕΩϛΗΠΡΙΝΠΟΛΙϛ (C.I.A., III, 401–402 = *I.G.*, II², 5185)

in l'altra fazza verso oriente sono queste letre:

ΑΙΔΕΙΣΑΔΡΙΑΝΟ͡ΧΙΘΗΣΕΩϛΠΟΛΙϛ (C.I.A., III, 402)

Robert de Dreux, fol. 103v; Pernot, p. 144:

[Notre ancien compagnon] me conduisit ensuite aux ruines du superbe palais de Thessée, ce brave capitaine qui partagea avec Iason la gloire d'avoir enlevé la toison d'or. Il reste encore 10 ou 12 colones de ce palais, qui sont si hautes et si grosses qu'elles ont 4 brasses de tour. Elles sont toutes d'un beau marbre blanc, et toutes canelées. J'âpris qu'il y en avoit 366 sur lesquelles étoit batit tout le palais, dont il reste encore quelques pans de murailles, sur 2 ou 3 de ces colonnes, sous lesquelles on avoit faites une infinites de cintres, qui rendoient cet édifice plus ferme et plus solide. Il y reste encore un grand portail tout de marbre, élevé comme un arc triomphal, enrichie (*fol. 104r*) de colonnes, de pilastres et de figures, dont il reste encore de beaux fragmens. Il y a aparence que c'étoit l'entrée de ce magnifique palais qui se joignoit au château.

Babin, pp. 44–46; Wachsmuth, pp. 759–760:

Ce même Empereur (i.e., Hadrian) fit faire pour soy un *Palais* fort (*p. 45*) magnifique, dont on void encore des restes dans un champ entre la ville et une petite rivière. On dit qu'il y avoit autrefois six vingt colomnes de marbre, il en reste encore environ seize, extremement hautes, et si grosses que deux hommes ne sauroient en embrasser (Wachsmuth: n'en sauraient embrasser) une, et sur chacune desquelles on void des restes d'une petite galerie voûtée. Entre quatre de ces colomnes il y a une petite chapelle des Grecs tout entière, mais qui n'est jamais fermée et dont ils se servent point.

Fort proche de ces colomnes composées de grosses pierres rondes les unes sur les autres, il y a un grand *portail de marbre,* sur le frontispice duquel on lit des mots (*p. 46*) Grecs en gros caractéres qui signifient: CE N'EST PLUS ICY LA VILLE DE THESÉE, C'EST CELLE DES HADRIENS. . . .

On dit qu'une rangée de ces Colomnes alloit de là jusqu'à la Citadelle, proche des murailles de laquelle on en void encore deux sur la colline, qui sont un peu moindres que les autres.

Collignon, pp. 65–66; fol. 210r:

Plus bas en allant au fleuve Ilissum . . . se voit quelques restes de cet antique et superbe palais que

difficulté le premier rang pour la beauté. Il est en descendant du château au couchant du mont Hymet. On dit que onze des prédécesseurs de ce roy avoient travaillé à ce superbe édifice, mais il y a apparence que ce fut luy qui l'acheva, car on voit encore fort distinctement au desses de la porte cette inscription en Grec LES ATHENES SONT A THESEE. L'Empereur Adrien ayant fait une dépense prodigieuse pour embellir ce palais fit mettre en dedans de la porte cette autre inscription que l'on voit encore en même langue (*p. 68*) CE PALAIS EST A ADRIEN ET NON PAS A THESEE. Au delà de la porte on voit dans la vallée 17 colonnes de marbre blanc canellées, de 53 pieds de hauteur et de près de 20 de circumférence (*sic*). Tout le palais étoit porté sur 350 colonnes de même et l'on en voit encore 7 d'un rang et 6 de l'autre qui forment le reste d'une galerie qui venoit jusq'au château. Ce qui le fait juger ainsy c'est que l'on en voit encore 3 toutes seules à 50 pas au milieu de la plaine et deux autres proche le mur du château, qui toutes alignent avec celles dont je viens de parler. Nous n'avons rien qui approche de la grandeur et de la magnificence de ce que l'on peut juger qu'étoit ce palais et guères de plus beau chef d'oeuvre d'architecture. Il estoit d'ordre Corinthien.

[Aqueduc][34] On voit au pied du (*sic*) montagne St George, qui est au nord de ce palais, quelques colonnes d'une hauteur extraordinaire qui sont les restes d'un aqueduc, que Thésée avoit fait bâtir pour porter les eaux dans la ville et dans le château. Elles passoient par une galerie très élevée au dessus de la ville, qu'elle traversoit d'un bout à l'autre soutenue sur semblables colonnes, qui venoit jusqu'au château et de laquelle on entroit dans celle qui alloit du château au palais de Thésée. Il y a bien deux lieues de chemin.

[Chaise d'Aristote][35] Au pied de ladite montagne de St. George est une petite chapelle

l'on dict avoit 366 colomnes, sur les quelles colomnes estoit la fabrique dudit palais comme paroist par le reste et sont encor 19 colomnes en leur entier. Il y at un fort beau portail sur le frontispice duquel est escript du costé de dehors:

ΑΙΔ ΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ

et au-dedans dudit portail

ΑΙΔ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ

Cf. above, Arnaud, p. 52; Du Loir, p. 65.

[34] See above, Arnaud, p. 53. Collignon (p. 68; fol. 210v):

Au dessoubs (namely, the Chapel of St. George on Lycabettus) sont deux colonnes avec quelques inscriptions en lattin, qui font veoir que Jules Caesar avoit pour régal aux Atténiens faict conduire les eaux jusque là pour le soulagement des Atténiens par des conduicts assez difficiles.

[35] Ciriaco of Ancona, *Epigrammata reperta per Illyricum,* Rome, 1747, p. XI, publ. Wachsmuth, I, p. 727:

ad fauces aquaeductus extra civitatem ad unum mill., quae *studia Aristotelis* vulgus Atheniensium hodie vocat.

Anon. Ambros. (ed. cit., above, note 33) § 8:

Ancora è da quella parte verso griego lontana de la terra circa un buon m(igli)o a piè d'un monte un arco triumphale assai bello, ma più de la mità per terra, e tutto di belli (*fol. 89v*) marmori, nel quale sono queste lettere

IMP. CAES. T. al suo loco vedeti, (*C.I.L.*, III, 549)

il qual arco fu fatto in memoria de Adriano imperatore, et qual fece far un condotto d'aqua, per condur(la) in athene, del qual ancora par le vestigie al piè del detto monte, e in questo loco dicono li homini grossi esser stato il studio di Aristotele, ma non è alcune vestigie del aedificio antiquo. Ma credo più presso fusse quello aedificio, dove sono le 120 colonne grande, reaedificato in memoria del studio antiquo di Aristotele et altri antiqui phil(osophi), perchè è in f(orm)a de portico aperto da ogni banda, ma parre, come è detto, che fusse coperto di marmora et non è alcuna scraja del muro.

See also above, Niccolò da Martoni, pp. 32–33; Lubenau, p. 48; Arnaud, pp. 52–53; Du Loir, p. 65.

du même nom dans laquelle on voit une espèce de fauteuil de marbre enclavé dans la muraille que les sçavans du pays, qui sont en vérité de grands ignorans, nous ont dit (*p. 69*) être la chaise d'Aristote. On voit au dos une inscription que l'on ne sçavoit lire et un bas-relief fort effacé dans lequel on reconnoit pourtant bien une figure de femme dont le bras est étendu sur la tête d'une autre qui est à ses pieds. La première a comme une voile à l'endroit de la tête, ce qui fait juger que ce peut être la fortune.

[Lanterne de Démosthène][36] En entrant dans la ville on trouve une petite tour de Marbre dont la moitié est dans la rue et l'autre est enfermée dans une maison. On nous

[36] Robert de Dreux, fol. 103r (ed. Pernot, pp. 143, 144):

[Notre ancien compagnon] me fit d'abort remarquer que la maison de notre hospice où il etoit logé est le lieu où Démosthène, ce grand orateur de Grèce, avoit fait sa demeure, et il y reste encore dans son entier un fort beau cabinet tout de marbre, qui est bâti en forme de tourelle, qui est couverte d'une seule pierre de marbre, si grande et si épaisse (*fol. 103v*) qu'elle est creusée au dedans comme une calotte et élevée au dehors comme un petit dosme, dont la superficie est taillée en forme de coquilles, et l'entablement sur lequel elle est posée est enrichie d'une infinites de bas-reliefs qui representent plusieurs figures d'hommes et de bestes, avec une délicatesse admirable; et il me dit que quand on lui avoit vendu cette maison ç'avoit été à condition que tous ceux qui viennent voir les antiquités d'Athènes, auroient la liberté de venir voir le pavillon de Démosthène, qui en est une des plus belles et des plus entières.

Babin, pp. 37–38; Wachsmuth, I, pp. 756–757, § 12:

A la maison qu'ont acheté depuis peu les Peres Capucins, il y a une antiquité bien remarquable, et qui depuis le tems de Démosthene est demeurée en son entier, on l'appelle ordinairement la *lanterne de Demosthene*, et les plus habiles Atheniens m'ont dit que c'étoit le lieu où ce grand Orateur se retira, s'étant fait raser la barbe, et les cheveux, pour se contraindre soy-même par ce moyen à garder la solitude, afin d'acquérir par la meditation et dans le silence les plus belles connoissances et les plus belles lumières de la Philosophie, comme aussi les traits les plus subtils de l'Eloquence.

Cette lanterne ou ce fanal est une petite tour, toute de (*p. 38*) marbre blanc, maintenant un peu noircy par dessus, tant par la pluye que par les incendies, qui ont consumé les maisons voisines, et les salles et chambres où ce grand Orateur étoit retiré: car je ne puis me persuader qu'il fût toujours enfermé comme dans un cachot dans cette petite tour qui n'est que de la hauteur d'un homme, et qui ne peut contenir que trois personnes.

Ma penssée est qu'elle luy servoit de Temple, où il adoroit ses idoles, a l'honneur desquelles il allumoit des lampes qui ont aidé à noircir ce marbre, et à cause, desquelles probablement on appelle ce lieu lanterne ou fanal. Il est vray aussi que sa figure luy (*p. 39*) peut avoir procuré ce nom; car cette petite tour est faite comme un fanal avec six colomnes canelées hautes de huit pieds, qui soûtiennent un cercle épais et gros d'un pied, et haut de deux et demy, autour duquel sont des bas reliefs d'une riche sculpture, qui representent des Dieux marins. Entre ces colomnes il y a de grandes pieces de marbre fort larges et de même hauteur que les colomnes. Ce cercle est cou(*p. 40*)vert d'une seule pierre en coquille, qui a un chapiteau de fueillages, fort bien faits de la hauteur de deux pieds.

See also Guillet, *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle* (Paris: 1675), pp. 223–224:

. . . l'Hospice des Capucins. . . . Le vulgaire l'appelle indifferemment de deux noms, *To Phanari tou Demosthenis*, & *To Palati tou Demosthenis*, tantost la Lanterne de Demosthenes, tantost son Palais.

See Wachsmuth, I, p. 756, note 2.

Collignon, p. 62; fol. 209r:

7me (of the Escholes) Celle de Demosthenes où est la lucarne dudit Demostene et à présent apartenant aux RR. Pères Caupucins, et dict on que ledit Demostenes, attendu que par un deffaut qu'il avoit de la langue ne pouvant haranguer avec facilitté, voulant corriger ce deffaut entreprit de se renserrer dans icelle (*Ms.*, possibly has here an inserted "pour," which has been erased) quelque temps jusqu'à ce qu'il peut corriger ledit deffaut. Et ainsy, affin de n'estre obligé de paroistre au public, se tailla la moityé de la (*Ms.*, sa) barbe et ne respondoit plus à ses disciples sur leurs questions que par escript; et touts les mattins, lorsqu'il voyoit la mer agitée s'en alloit à la marine et mettant des pettits caillous dans sa bouche et criant le plus fort qu'il pouvoit, comme s'il disputtoit, remedia au dit deffaut en telle façon qu'en six mois pendant lequel temps la moityé de la (*Ms.*, sa) barbe lui rettournant à l'esgal de l'auttre il sortit en public avec toutte la facilitté d'aranguer qu'il pouvoit desirer.

dit que c'étoit l'endroit où Démosthène se retiroit pour étudier. Cela est fort étroit et fort haut, tout noir par dedans et ne reçoit de jour que par une très petite fenestre, ce qui fait que l'on l'appelle Lanterne. La couverture est d'une seule pièce de marbre d'un pied et demy d'épaisseur sur laquelle il y a comme un bouque[t] de plumes travaillé dans la même pièce.

[Tour de Socrate][37] Une des plus curieuses antiquités de cette ville est le tombeau ou la tour de Socrate. Le bâtiment est un octogone régulier sur chaque face duquel est en bas-relief une figure de six pieds de long couchée, qui représente une abondance de quelqu'une des choses nécessaires à la vie, comme de blé(d),[38] de vin, d'huile, d'argent etc. Audessus de la tour est une autre figure tenant un arc et une flèche à la main. On dit que celle-cy tournoit comme une girouette, marquant au soleil levant du 1er de mai quels biens on devoit avoir cette année en plus grande abondance. Les Athéniens connoissoient ce qu'ils devoient avoir en abondance cette année par le côté où étoit tourné la flèche au point du premier jour du mois de may.

[Palais de Périclès][39] Un peu plus bas que le marché et vis-à-vis la maison du Consul

[37] See *Vienna Anonymous,* § 2, Laborde, I, pp. 17, 21; *Anonymus Parisinus,* Wachsmuth, I, p. 743, note 2; Arnaud, above, p. 52 (*demeure de Pithagoras*):

Robert de Dreux, fol. 104v; Pernot, p. 145: On nous conduisit au monument de Socrate: c'est un gros pavillon de marbre qui a 8 faces, sur lesquelles les vents sont représentés en bas reliefs, pour marquer le légéreté de ceux qui avoient condanné à mort ce grand philosophe, qui a le premier mis en vogue la philosophie morale et parlé de Dieu d'une manière si haute et si sublime, que, ne convenant point aux fausses divinités qu'on adoroit parmi les païens, quelques jaloux l'accusèrent de mépriser les Dieux, ce qui le fit condanner à boire du poison; dont étant mort, les Athéniens reconourent leur injustice, et pour la réparer en quelque manière, ils firent élever ce monument à la gloire de ce grand homme, qui a été le maître de Platon et des plus illustres philosophes. On lui avoit aussi élevé une statue de bronze, mais elle n'y est plus.

Babin, pp. 40–42; Wachsmuth, pp. 757–758:

Vers le milieu de la ville il y a un ancien Temple de marbre, tout entier en Octogone; à chaque côté des Angles par déhors il y a une figure humaine fort bien faite en bas relief, couchée et de six pieds de long, avec des fleurs ou semblables choses à la main. Chaque figure est different et toutes representent les huit vents, ausquels probablement étoit (*p. 41*) consacré ce beau Temple qui sans ces huit angles ressembleroit à un pigeonnier.

Ce temple qui quelques uns disent estre la tombeau de Socrate est en quelque façon comme ces anciens temples des Ægyptiens Idolatres, qui étoient beaux à l'exterieur, mais l'on ne voioit dedans que des rats, des crocodiles et toutes sortes de serpens: ainsi il peut estre le hieroglyphe des hypocrites, puis qu'il fut consacré aux vents (*p. 42*) et qu'il est beau à l'exterieur, au lieu que dedans si l'on excepte les murailles et la voute de marbre en façon de dome, l'on ne void en bas qu'un cloaque et une infinité d'ordures.

Collignon, p. 61; fol. 209r:

Celle (i.e., l'Eschole) de Socrate dans le coeur de la ville, où ledit at esté ensevely dans une cube octogenaire fort aulte, avec huict figures representant les huict vents, lesquelles sont dans leur entier hors de une qui est cachée soubz la fabrique et (*Ms.,* om. et) que l'on at depuis basty.

[38] See p. 134, note 17.

[39] Stoa of Hadrian. Cf. pp. 64, 149, 170.

Robert de Dreux, fol. 104r; Pernot, p. 145:

Retournant dans la ville, on nous y fit remarquer les ruines de plusieurs beaux palais, comme celui de Polemarco et de Temistocle, dont il restent plusieurs belles colonnes de marbre.

The "palace of the Polemarch" was perhaps the gate of the Roman Agora; Pernot, *loc. cit.,* note 4.

Babin, pp. 43–44; Wachsmuth, pp. 758–759, § 14:

Joignant cette superbe porte (i.e., of the Agora), il y a une autre reste fort remarquable de cette illustre Ville. C'est une assés longue muraille de beau marbre blanc avec huit ou neuf colomnes de même matiere, hautes de 24. pieds, assés éloignées les unes des autres, et qui joignent la muraille de

on voit les restes du palais de Périclès, dont il n'y a plus qu'un pan de murailles et quelques colonnes sur (*p. 70*) pied, ce qui n'est pas surprenant puisque l'on compte qu'il faut que ce palais soit bâty depuis plus de deux mille ans.

[Temple d'Esculape][40] Sur la gauche du chemin de la ville à la Marine est le temple d'Esculape, bâty de marbre, comme tous les anciens édifices de ce pays. Il est presqu' en son entière parcequ[e] les Grecs, à qui il servoit d'église sous le nom de St. George, ont pris un peu plus soin de l'entretenir. Il y a tout à l'entour de ce temple une galerie soutenue sur six rangs de colonnes et sur des pièces de marbre en forme de poutres qui traversent d'une colonne à l'autre et joignent cette belle galerie au corps du bâtiment.

[Maison de St Denis abandonnée][41] En montant au château on trouve au couchant une chapelle qui étoit l'archevesché et qui est maintenant toute découverte. C'étoit la

même façon et avec aussi bonne grace que l'on en void en France aux Autels des plus magnifiques Eglises. . . . Ie crus d'abord (*p. 44*) que c'étoit une porte de l'ancienne ville d'*Athènes* et un reste de ses anciennes et superbes murailles. . . .

Mais après avoir consideré que ces colomnes n'ont point de rapport avec les murs d'une ville, je me persuade que c'est plutôt la porte et la face du palais de *Themistocles,* ou peut-estre un reste de ce superbe temple de *Iupiter Olympien que* l'empereur *Hadrian* y fit batir.

Collignon, p. 67; fol 210v:

Dans la ville est le fameux palais de Themistocles, arconde d'Athènes, et en reste encore de fort belles remarques et colomnes de marbre fort grosses et d'une pierre.

On the names given to these remains, Palace of Themistocles and Temple of Jupiter, see Wachsmuth, *loc. cit.*, note 1; Collignon, *loc. cit.*, note 4. Nointel (Laborde I, p. 122) speaks of having passed "sous les beaux restes du pallais de Péricles et auprès de la chapelle ou tombeau de Socrate."

[40] The Theseum. See above, Arnaud, p. 52, note 10.

Collignon, p. 64; fol. 210r:

Au dessoubz de l'archevesché est le temple de Thesée a présent dédié à St George, avec des fort belles colomnes et quelques figures de marbre.

[41] See above, Arnaud, p. 52.

Robert de Dreux, fol. 106r; Pernot, pp. 148–150:

Je voulu du moins tenter si je ne pourrois pas voir la maison où demeuroit autrefois St Denis, que le sieur Palealogue (*fol. 106v*) m'avoit dit être proche de l'areopage, dont il me montra quelques anciennes murailles, en arrivant à Athenes. C'est pourquoi, bien qu'elles soient proche du chasteau, sur une éminence qui commande à la ville, je ne laissai pas d'y aller, et arrivant à une grande maison dont la porte étoit ouverte, je vis dans la cour un autel, aux environs duquel il y avoit des pilastres et autres ornemens de marbre. Je pris la confiance d'y entrer et je remarquai que c'étoit les ruines d'une ancienne chapelle: mais n'osant pas rester là longtems, j'en sortis prontement et j'allois vers l'areopage.

The incident with a Greek priest related above, p. 16, follows (fol. 107r):

Le prêtre me montra ensuite un puis où il me dit que St Denis avoit caché St Paul durant quelques jours, et m'invita d'entrer dans ce logis, pour voir L'Archevêque qui y faisoit sa demeure (*fol. 107v*), mais je m'excusai sur ce que, ne sachant pas assez bien le grec pour l'entretenir, je pourrois le lendemain venir avec mon Compagnon qui en scavoit plus que moi, pour lui rendre nos respects.

Babin, pp. 16–17; Wachsmuth, p. 750, § 6:

L'Archevêque a son logis sur les anciens fondemens de la *maison de S. Denys Areopagite,* joignant les ruines d'une petite Eglise fort ancienne, dont les mazures et murailles paroissent encore toutes embellies de diverses peintures, et proche de laquelle est un *puits,* où l'on assure que *S. Paul* demeura caché 24. heures dans une persecution que ses ennemis exciterent contre luy, aprés la conver(p. 17)sion de ce Senateur de l'Areopage.

Les Francs qui (Wachsmuth, om. qui) n'ont à *Athenes* que la Chapelle des Péres *Capucins,* comme auparavent ils n'avoient que celle des Pères *Iesuites,* disent que des massons ayans trouvé sous terre parmy les ruïnes de cette ancienne Eglise Grecque une statue de marbre, qui représentoit la sainte Vierge, tenant son fils entre les bras, l'Archevêque defunt, aussitôt qu'il la vist la mit en piéces, de peur

maison de S^{t} Denis. L'on y voit un puits et tout proche un grand pièce de marbre où l'on ne peut plus lire les sentences des juges de l'Aréopage qui y sont gravées.

[Puits de S^{t} Paul][42] A 50 pas de cette chapelle est un autre puits où l'on dit que S^{t} Paul se cacha par l'avis de S^{t} Denis, son disciple, pendant la persécution des Chrétiens.

A 2 portées de fusil du château sur une petite élévation qui s'apperçoit de fort loin, il y a un monument[43] que (*sic*) représente un triomphe. L'on y distingue entr' autres deux figures assises sur un char trainé par des lyons et cinque autres un peu plus élevées qui semblent regarder le temple de Minerve. Cette inscription est au dessus CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR. La Sculpture est admirable et les figures parfaitement bien faite[s]. Aucun habitan du pays ne nous (*p. 71*) put rien dire de positif sur cette antiquité, mais il y a apparence que l'illustre Empereur, dont le nom n'est nullement effacé, fit élever ce superbe monumen[t] pour laisser à la postérité la mémoire de son passage en cette ville et des marques de sa magnificence.

(Voilà, Monsieur, ce que j'ai trouvé de plus digne d'être remarqué dans les restes de cette superbe ville qui commandoit autrefois à toute la Grèce. Il y a mille autres choses qui seroit trop longues et peut-estre ennuyeuses si l'on vouloit les mettre par écrit *surtout si je m'en meslois.*)[44]

Je n'ay plus qu'un mot à dire après lequel je finiray cette longue relation, en vous priant d'excuser les fautes qui s'y trouveront et de les corriger, en cas que vous ayez assez peu de charité pour la montre comme vous avez fait ma lettre de Constantinople.

Je reviens à mon sujet. C'est des habitans du pays que je veux parler. Ils étoient avant les dernières guerres jusqu'au nombre de 18000, mais il n'en reste plus qu'environ 6000, meslés de Turcs, de Juifs, de Grecs et d'Albanois. L'occupation de ces quatre peuples différens est aussy fort différente. Les Turcs comme les plus puissans vivent de ce qu'ils prenent aux autres par authorité. Les Juifs se soutiennent par le trafic qu'ils entendent en perfection. Les Grecs servent de bêtes de somme et travaillent pour les autres; et les Albanois s'entretient par leurs brigandages. Les Turcs ont dans ce pays un Cadis pour la justice et un Vayvode qui a soin de faire payer 10000 écus de carache que ce pays fournir pour le Kislar Aga ou chef des eunuques noirs de Sérail. L'on enlève outre cela tout le miel que produit le mont Hymet, et il y a des officiers commis exprès pour empescher que l'on n'en détourne, et pour le faire transporter au même Sérail. Il est plus délicat de beaucoup que notre miel de Narbonne, aussi est il conservé avec grand soin pour la bouche des Sultanes. L'air de ce pays est admirable et (*p. 72*) l'on y vit communément

que les Latins n'eussent cet Argument contre les Grecs, et ne leur objectassent que *S.Denys* honoroit les images en bosse, puisqu'on en avoit trouvé une dans les ruines de sa maison qui joint cette Eglise.

Collignon, pp. 63–64; fol. 109v:

. . . De l'auttre costé (from the Areopagus) à main droite descendant du chasteau est l'archevesché, que l'on asseure estre la mesme demeure de saint Denis l'areopagite. En sortant de l'archevesché par la petite porte à dix pas de là, est un puys où S^{t} Paul se cacha pour esvitter la fureur du peuple aprés qu'il eust converty S^{t} Denis.

On the confusion of the Areopagite with St. Denis of France see above, pp. 20, 21, 24.

[42] See the preceding note.

[43] The monument of Philopappus. See above, Du Loir, p. 62.

Collignon, p. 63; fol. 109v:

Vis à vis du chasteau, sur une éminence ou coline, est l'Areopage, où paroist encor une partie de la fabrique avec des chars de triomphe (*Ms.*, triomphes) et quelques inscriptions en lattin.

See also Collignon, *loc. cit.*, note 3.

[44] See below, note 46.

jusqu'à 100 ans. Mais je ne m'apercois pas que je ne devois dire qu'un mot. Je vous demande pardon, Monsieur,[45] de vous avoir amusé si longtemps et finis en vous réitérant la prière que je vous ay faite dans la page précédent[e], et en vous assurant que je suis avec un très profond respect, Monsieur, vot. etc.[46]

[45] *Ms.*, Mr.

[46] At the end of the letter is added the passage in parentheses on p. 171. It occupies 5 lines in the ms., and is there followed by this note:

Ces cinq lignes manquent à la page précédente. Il faut les lire après le mot de magnificence.

APPENDIX I

Athens as Seen by Travellers under the Acciaioli[1]

On the morning of Ash Wednesday, February 24, 1395, an Italian notary, Niccolò da Martoni (near Capua), on his return journey to Italy from the Holy Land, was led to Athens, as we have seen above, by accident of travel rather than by love of antiquity. With two Italian friends he had ridden all night through the rain from Porto Raphti on the northeast coast of Attica, fearing capture by Turkish robbers if he travelled by day. An intelligent man of some education, he kept a diary and after his return home wrote in rather barbarous Latin the story of his adventures. Most pilgrims describe fully only the sacred places, but Niccolò had wider interests and recorded also the sights and incidents of his journey outside of Palestine.

His whole account of Athens, published above, is an interesting combination of fairly accurate personal observation, the stories of the guides, and an occasional reminiscence of his classical education. The fallen columns and marble blocks strewn through the fields about the little modern town justified to him the statements of ancient writers as to its former power and glory, and so awakened his curiosity that in spite of his all-night ride, he at once asked some residents to show him the antiquities. An account of his visit under their guidance follows, and occupies the rest of our narrative.

Niccolò deserves attention partly because he is the first western visitor to Athens, partly, as it seems to me, because the very gaps in his narrative and the character of his guides' stories indicate the lack of a living tradition as to the ancient remains. Archaeologically this narrative tells us little, but the omissions are significant. A man so prone as Niccolò to record strange tales would scarcely have passed by in silence all that we know was then visible along the south side of the Acropolis, if his guides had been ready with high sounding names or curious legends. The inference seems warranted that in his day interest in the ruins had not developed so far as to provide new names and stories, while the lapse of time had nearly extinguished any classical traditions. The character of Niccolò's stories, I think, points in the same direction. He alone tells of the two fountains whose waters were thought potent "pro acquirenda scientia," near the study of Aristotle, and the porticoes where the philosopher walked (probably the basin and arch of the aqueduct of Hadrian and some ruined colonnades), of the Trojan

[1] This Appendix consists of passages selected from an illustrated lecture delivered at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, December 3, 1915.

origin of the doors of the Parthenon, and the magic idol on the Acropolis wall.[2] None of these sound to me like genuine survivals from early times; while all might easily have arisen under French rule, when we have ample proof of the influence exerted by western romance on Greek popular literature.

Conspicuous monuments not diverted to modern use had of course attracted attention. Even in the time of Acominatus the choragic monument of Lysicrates was called the "Lantern of Demosthenes," and Niccolò's "studium Aristotelis" meets us again and again, even as late as the seventeenth century, sometimes, as I have said, at Hadrian's aqueduct, less frequently near the monument of Thrasyllus. That the Olympieum was the "palace of Hadrian" was an article of archaeological faith until the visit of Stuart and Revett in the middle of the eighteenth century, and many travellers shared Niccolò's belief that the building was originally constructed on the columns.

The years following Niccolò's visit were marked by distinct improvement in Athenian conditions. Within a decade Antonio Acciaioli had succeeded in adding Athens to his inheritance, Thebes, and had made his peace with Venice and the Sultan. For fifty years he and his successors lived at ease in their palace on the Acropolis, and kept Athens fairly free from invasion.

As is shown by their correspondence they were in frequent communication with their kinsmen at home, and received at their court Florentines and other Italians, who having breathed the atmosphere of the Renaissance must have quickened interest in the ancient monuments, and by the time of the Turkish conquest we find classical names commonly assigned to the various vestiges of the past.

Some part in this awakening may well be attributed to the next visitor after Niccolò whom we can trace, a man as unlike Niccolò as can be imagined, and yet a pilgrim, though his shrines were classic sites, and his relics coins and inscriptions. Ciriaco dei Pizzicoli of Ancona, a typical scholar of the Renaissance in his worship of the ancients, but archaeologist and explorer rather than humanist, was in Athens in 1435 and in 1444, copying inscriptions, drawing monuments — apparently very badly — and taking notes. Unfortunately after his death his huge collections were dispersed, and we have only fragmentary records of these important visits.[3]

These remains, though valuable as preserving complete copies of inscriptions not otherwise known except in fragments, seem to me interesting chiefly as showing what a scholar who cared only for the past, found worthy of note in

[2] See above, pp. 33, 34.

[3] *Kyriaci Anconitani Itinerarium*, ed. L. Mehus (Florence: 1782); [*Inscriptiones seu Epigrammata*] *graeca et latina reperta per Illyricum* a Cyriaco [Roma, 1663], (Rome: 1747); Wachsmuth, I, pp. 59, note 4; 727–730; cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (Munich: 1931); pp. 16, 36; Setton, Catalans, pp. 187, 208, 232–235, 297.

Athens. The list is surprisingly modern. He copied the inscriptions on the choragic monuments of Thrasyllus and Lysicrates, the arch of Hadrian, and the front of the aqueduct of Hadrian and Antoninus on the slope of Lycabettus — the only monument that has completely disappeared since his day, save for a part of the inscription which is in the royal garden. He mentions the Pnyx, — at least that seems indicated by "the most ancient walls of Athens, built of huge stones," — the Olympieum (as the palace of Hadrian), the Theseum (as the temple of Mars), the Tower of the Winds (he calls it a temple), the Propylaea (as the palace of the Florentine Duke, Nerio Acciaioli II), and the Parthenon. With the exceptions that I have mentioned there is nothing which a modern traveller cannot see, though unfortunately not so well preserved as in the fifteenth century. The omission of some conspicuous monuments may well be due to the fragmentary character of the notes.

It is significant of Ciriaco's attitude that we find almost no reference to the modern city. The sole indications of its size are contained in the description of the "temple of Mars" as "in agro," that is, outside the walls, and in the mention of fallen walls and ruins of houses and other buildings in the fields. Ciriaco's disregard of the present goes so far that the Parthenon is only the "temple of Pallas," though for many years it had been a Christian church, and was at the time when he was there the cathedral of the Latin archbishop. Apparently he did not visit the transformed interior, for he refers merely to the columns outside, the number of which he gives correctly, the "battle of the Centaurs and the Lapithae" above the epistyle, the "victories of the Athenians in the time of Pericles" at the top of the walls, and in the pediments the colossal statues of men and horses, which he does not interpret. It is characteristic of the two men that, while Niccolò never mentions the temple or the sculptures, Ciriaco totally ignores the church and interior, and thinks only of the work of Phidias. This neglect of modernity had to be partly abandoned in the Propylaea, which he saw only as part of the palace and calls an *Aula*. Here he is unfortunately very brief, merely mentioning a portico with four columns and two marble beams, a splendid hall inside with six Ionic columns, a coffered ceiling and finely polished walls, and adding the size of the interior beams. The Florentine Dukes — probably Antonio Acciaioli — had transformed the Propylaea into a palace, but neither drawings nor inscriptions exist to enlighten us on the details.

Along with this disregard of the present goes disregard of local tradition and (except for the "palace of Hadrian") nomenclature. Thus after correctly noting the inscription of Antoninus as belonging to an aqueduct he adds that the "uulgus Athenarum" calls it the study of Aristotle. So, too, although two hundred and fifty years earlier the monument of Lysicrates was already known as the "Lantern of Demosthenes," Ciriaco, copying the inscription merely says "at

the richly decorated seats of the theatre," an enigmatical description which shows more independence than acumen.

To the years immediately following the Turkish conquest probably belong two anonymous treatises, the manuscripts of which are now in Vienna and Milan. The first, in Greek, is entitled "The theatres and schools of Athens," and is a topographical guide to the ancient remains.[4] The author follows a regular order and his notes of direction are precise and apparently accurate. Indeed it is only his systematic treatment that makes it possible to determine the buildings designated by his fantastic names. A brief extract will suffice to show the character of the work.

Within the city is the school of Socrates, upon which are represented men and winds. To the west is situated the palace of Themistocles, and near are the splendid dwellings of the polemarch, and very near these are statues of Zeus. Opposite the latter is a temple in which the pancratiasts and Olympic victors had the honor of burial, and where the orators used to deliver the funeral orations.

Here we have the Tower of the Winds, the gate of the Roman Agora, the Stoa of Hadrian, the "Giants," and the Theseum, with a confused reminiscence of the public cemetery in the Ceramicus and the funeral orations.

When the Acropolis is reached, we find the temple of Nike described as the school of Pythagoras, and learn that the Propylaea was the palace with the καγκελλαρία in the north wing (possibly a portico, but more probably the ducal chancellery), while near by was the school of the Stoics and opposite that of the Epicureans; possibly one of these names conceals the Erechtheum, which otherwise is unmentioned from the time of Pausanias until the end of the seventeenth century. At the close, of course, is the Parthenon, still a church, though apparently restored by the Turks to the orthodox Greeks, and here for the first time we meet the tradition that it was originally the "Temple of the Unknown God."

Such statements have little archaeological meaning, and yet the guide is not without value. It is possible to identify almost everything of importance named therein, and it seems reasonably certain that, however much some buildings may have suffered, comparatively little that then existed in a fair state of preservation has since vanished. Moreover comparison of these wild identifications with the notes of Niccolò and Ciriaco confirms, I think, the view that we are not dealing with true popular tradition, but with a recent endeavor to attach famous names or incidents to the extant remains.

The date of the work is probably after the Turkish occupation, since there is no reference to the Latin church, and the Duke, though mentioned, is evidently

[4] For a facsimile of the text with translation and comment see Laborde, I, pp. 16–31. See also L. Ross, *Jahrb. der Litteratur*, XC, 1840, Anzeige-Blatt, pp. 16–41; Wachsmuth, I, pp. 731–744; *idem*, *Ath. Mitt.*, VIII, 1883, pp. 30–32; Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–238, 240.

no longer ruling. On the other hand the Parthenon has not yet been transformed into a mosque and there is no indication that the Acropolis is a Turkish fort. There is absolutely no clue to the author.

The Milan manuscript[5] presents the work of a very different person. He was evidently a Venetian scholar, interested in inscriptions, and the manuscript in the Ambrosiana contains a small part of his *Corpus Inscriptionum* together with a short, probably abbreviated, account of a tour in Greece, including a somewhat detailed description of Athens, which in its fullness, accuracy, and general good sense seems to me distinctly the most valuable of these very early narratives. He simply tells us what he saw and gives his own interpretation, with little reference to popular tradition. He says that the lower town, recently fortified, was on the north of the citadel, though there were also scattered houses to the south and east. The old walls were in ruins, but their circuit could easily be traced and was about that of Padua. Most of the antiquities were within their circuit.

A few examples of his method must suffice here. Thus in describing the arch and inscription of the aqueduct of Hadrian, he states that this was the reputed site of the school of Aristotle, but that he found no traces of an ancient building. In fact he is rather inclined to connect the name of the philosopher with the twenty great columns of the Olympieum; which he suggests may have supported a portico erected in his honor. Strangely enough he does not connect the building with Hadrian. After a careful description of the monument of Lysicrates and a partial copy of the inscription, he adds with characteristic frankness, "Why such a building was erected I could not understand." So too he mentions the two columns above the theatre with the comment, "As I could not approach them, I did not understand what they were." Would that all travellers had possessed his candor!

Of the Acropolis he says only that it contained a fine palace and a church that had once been a temple, surrounded by columns and decorated with sculptures. All this could easily be seen from below, and coupled with his inability to approach the columns, indicates that the Acropolis and its neighborhood were inaccessible. This corresponds exactly with the situation in 1466, when for a short time the Venetians were masters of the lower town, while the Turks held the Acropolis. Our traveller may well have been a member of the expedition.

[5] Published E. Ziebarth, *ibid.*, XXIV, 1899, pp. 73–78; see also Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 238–240.

APPENDIX II

Two Directors of the *Compagnie du Sénégal*

1. FRANÇOIS FRANÇOIS

François François is called by Gondi, "directeur des Indes o del'Merique," "directeur des Indes," "direttore della Compagnia delle Indie."[1] This is plainly incorrect. The only "Compagnie des Indes" in existence in 1681 was that of the "Indes-Orientales," which had no connection with Martinique. The "Compagnie des Indes-Occidentales," formed in 1664 with very extensive and exclusive trading rights, was practically bankrupt in 1672, and though dissolved in 1674 was not completely liquidated until 1684, when the king assumed all its debts, reimbursed the shareholders, and took complete possession of the French West Indies, at the same time opening commerce with the islands freely to all Frenchmen who had received passports.[2] Soon after this François Bellinzani and Guillaume Mesnager, the administrators of the dissolved company, were appointed "directeurs du commerce des Indes-Occidentales,"[3] or "directeurs généraux et Commissaires du domaine Royal d'occident."[4] There seems to be no trace of François in connection with this company. On the other hand in November, 1673, the commissioners of the "Compagnie des Indes-Occidentales," availing themselves of an authorization given in April, 1672, sold all their rights in Senegal to a new "Compagnie du Sénégal" formed by MM. Maurice Egrot, François François, and François Raguenet, and this sale was formally recognized in the edict dissolving the old company in 1674, though the new company received its letters patent only in January, 1679. By this time Raguenet having died and MM. Bains and Lebrun having acquired his rights, they with François now formed the company.[5] Bellinzani and Mesnager had already on March 25, 1679, signed a contract with the Company of Senegal, represented by "les Messieurs François et Bains, intéressés et directeurs d'icelles," by which the latter agreed to import two thousand negroes a year for eight years to Martinique and the other islands, at 13 livres a head, to be sold by the Company's agents in the islands at such price as might be agreed upon with the inhabitants; on sugar, tobacco, etc., imported into France by the Company only half the regular duty

[1] See above, pp. 95, 96, 99, 106, 107.

[2] J. Sautoyant, *La Colonisation française sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: 1929), I, pp. 220–228.

[3] A. Dessalles, *Histoire générale des Antilles* (Paris: 1847), IV, p. 453.

[4] Bibl. Nat., *MSS. fr. 11315*, fol. 31.

[5] L. Cordier, *Les Compagnies à Charte et la politique coloniale sous le ministère de Colbert* (Paris: 1906), pp. 270, 288–289.

was to be paid.[6] As this contract greatly enlarged the business of the Company, more capital was required and six new directors were added to the three. Even so the capital proved insufficient, the debts of the Company increased and early in 1680 the failure of its bankers compelled an arrangement with its creditors. Finally on July 2, 1681, a new Company was formed with royal approval[7] to take over the property and privileges and also the debts of the old Company. Under these conditions it is easy to see why François so readily acceded to Marguerite's wishes in regard to La Rue.[8] A director of a practically bankrupt company, whose property had been saved from seizure only by a special decree, might well feel it prudent to secure the good will of the king's cousin, especially as it was believed that there would be a complete reorganization. It may be noted that François is expressly stated to be the only one of the old directors who had a seat in the new board.[9]

The new Company was not much more successful than the old, and on September 12, 1684, its privileges and rights were revoked for non-fulfillment of its contract.[10] Somewhat later a new "Compagnie de Guinée"[11] acquired a large part of the trading privileges on the African coast hitherto enjoyed by the Company of Senegal. François remained in the old Company and in 1687 visited the African coast to correct disorders which had arisen in the management of the training stations.[12]

2. JEAN-BAPTISTE DU CASSE

The name Du Casse occurs frequently in the records of the Company of Senegal and in the history of the French West Indies during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. It is probable that the large majority of these references are to Jean-Baptiste du Casse[13] (1646–1715), governor of the French colony of St.-

[6] Dessalles, *loc. cit.;* Mims, *op. cit.*, (above, p. 139, note 33), pp. 291–292.

[7] On January 15, 1681, Bellinzani had written to the intendant, Patoulet, "Je suis fasché que la Compagnie de Sénégal n'ayt pas jusqu'à présent exécuté ses traittéz. Je croy que les affaires changeront bientost, et qu'il s'en exécutera mieux les conditions de ses traittéz" (*MSS. fr. 11315*, fol. 95r-v); and on May 3, just before La Rue left Dieppe, the king himself wrote the intendant expressing regret that disorder in the affairs of the Company had caused so few negroes to have been sent, and announcing his decision to form a new company with more money and better management (*ibid.*, fol. 133).

[8] See above, p. 95.

[9] In a letter of the new directors to Patoulet we are told: "Il n'y a que Mr François qui est entré de l'ancienne compe dans la nouvelle compagnie que Monsieur Colbert a formé par l'ordre de sa majesté" (*ibid.*, fol. 152, 154, 156; in triplicate).

[10] Moreau de St.-Méry, *Loix et constitutions des colonies françaises . . . sous le vent* (Paris: 1784), I, p. 400.

[11] Its letters patent were issued in January, 1685. Mims, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

[12] Sautoyant, *op. cit.*, I, p. 307.

[13] E.g. see Labat (Le R.P.), *Nouveau voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique* (La Haye: 1724), II,

Domingo (Hayti). Of his early career the life by a collateral descendant, Baron Robert du Casse, *L'Amiral Du Casse, chevalier de la Toison d'Or (1646–1715)* (Paris: 1876), is confused and must be verified and corrected by other records. For the account below I have used manuscript material in the Bibliothèque Nationale, including the copies of documents and notes collected by Margry,[14] and the following recent works: P. Chemin-Dupontès, *Les Compagnies de colonization en Afrique occidentale sous Colbert* (Paris: 1903); C. de La Roncière, *Histoire de la Marine française, V* (Paris: 1920); Mims, *op. cit.*

Jean-Baptiste du Casse, the son of Bertrand du Casse, was born August 2, 1646, at Sanbusse, Béarn.[15] He apparently entered the merchant marine early, for he was "capitaine de long course" when in 1676 the Company of Senegal is said to have given him command of its best ship, and in 1677, with the king's consent, of all the forces by land and sea on the West Coast of Africa, as well as the government of the colony.[16] If this statement is correct, the appointment must have been made late in 1677, for on September 3 of that year, "les intéressés au commerce du Sénégal et Cap Verd" asked Colbert to send soldiers with the fleet of the Comte d'Estrées to protect their posts against the Dutch.[17] The fleet of Estrées left Brest on October 3, 1677,[18] and sailed to Gorée, off Cap Verd, where the Dutch had an important fortified post.[19] On November 1 the garrison surrendered, Estrées destroyed the fort and settlement as well as the other Dutch trading posts on the coast, and seems to have proceeded at once to the Antilles, for early in December he occupied the island of Tabago.[20]

On November 15, 1677, Du Casse is reported to have secured at Gorée a monopoly of trading rights for the French from native chiefs of the coast, much to the satisfaction of the Company.[21] To protect this monopoly and to drive the Dutch from their post at Arguin, the Company in 1678 fitted out an armed ship of the king, *L'Entendu*,[22] under command of Du Casse, who sailed from Le Havre, April 23. Estrées, after having passed the winter in the West Indies, set out in May from St.-Christophe to attack the Dutch at Curaçao, but his fleet was wrecked on May 11 on the island of Aves, and he with other survivors returned to France. On hearing of his disaster the Dutch sent a squadron to St. Domingo,

236, for a lieutenant of this name, living at Martinique, but no kinsman of Jean-Baptiste. See also below, note 24.

[14] Collection Margry, *Nouv. acq. fr., 9256–9510;* cited below as *Margry* with the number of the manuscript.

[15] Du Casse, p. 12. [16] *Idem*, pp. 16, 17; Chemin-Dupontès, p. 94.

[17] Bibl. Nat., *Mélanges de Colbert, 175*, fol. 97.

[18] This is the date of a letter written to Colbert by Du Casse from Brest, "partant pour les isles" (*ibid.*, fol. 299: La Roncière, p. 659). The same manuscript gives (fol. 257) September 27, 1677, as the date of sailing.

[19] *Ibid.*, fol. 257, 299.

[20] Du Casse, p. 18; La Roncière, pp. 659–661; *Margry, 9339*, fol. 92.

[21] Du Casse, p. 19. [22] *Margry, ibid.*, fol. 94.

which captured at Petit Goave twelve small French ships, among them one commanded by "M. du Casse dont il sera beaucoup parlé ci-après."[23] If the above date, April 23, for the sailing of *L'Entendu* is correct, this cannot refer to Jean-Baptiste du Casse. Yet Le Pers knew Du Casse when governor, and evidently believed that he was the captain of the ship that had been taken.[24]

In his cruise to Africa Du Casse on the way to Gorée found that Dutch posts along the coast had been abandoned and pillaged, but when he arrived at Arguin, July 10, he recognized that it was too strong for his force. He therefore proceeded to Senegal for reinforcements from the Company's agent, with which he returned to Arguin on August 22 and secured its surrender on August 29. The fort was then completely destroyed. In March and April, 1679, he made new treaties with the native chiefs and maintained his conquests against the Dutch as protected by the treaty of Nymwegen (August 10, 1678).[25] On May 20, 1679, the Company reports twenty-one vessels, of which sixteen were at Senegal for the slave trade, four to carry slaves to Marseilles for the galleys, four to Spain when the gallions arrived, and eight to the West Indies. Of the other five, three were to bring to France ivory, hides, and other products from Africa, and two to bring sugar and tobacco from the West Indies, as were also the eight slavers after disposing of their cargoes.[26]

During 1679 Du Casse seems to have returned to France and to have stood high in the favor of the Company. He is said to have been received by Seignelay, and on January 11, 1680, was sent to Dieppe to correct the claim by an agent of the Company that ships might go to the West Indies without a passport.[27] The news that the Company on March, 1679, had acquired the monopoly of the slave trade with the West Indies produced great dissatisfaction at St. Domingo, where it was supposed that the Company had a monopoly of all trade. The island was already suffering from the forced low price of tobacco. There had been in 1670–71 a revolt against the monopoly restrictions of the Compagnie des Indes-Occidentales, appeased with difficulty by Ogeron, the governor.[28] Now on March 4, 1680, a new revolt broke out at Cap François, which M. de Franquesnoi, "lieutenant du Roi," was quite unable to repress. Pouançay, the governor of the island, was at the "Cul-de-sac de la côte," where he had established the commerce of the Company and had loaded two ships for France. With these he went to the Cap and not without difficulty convinced the people that the Company had a

[23] Le Pers, *Histoire de St. Dominique, MSS. fr. 8992,* fol. 92; Charlevoix (S.J.), *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole de St. Domingue* (Paris: 1730–1731), II, 119.

[24] It should be mentioned that in addition to Jean du Casse, commanding *L'Entendu,* we hear of a Pierre du Casse commanding for the Company *Les Armes de la Compagnie du Nord. Margry, loc. cit.* and *9492,* fol. 166.

[25] *Margry 9339,* fol. 92–94; Du Casse, pp. 20–42.

[26] *Margry, ibid.,* fol. 94.

[27] Du Casse, pp. 45–46; Chemin-Dupontès, pp. 99, 100.

[28] Le Pers, *op. cit.,* fol. 88v–89r, 93v.

monopoly only of the slave trade and that the rest of the commerce was free. During the revolt we find Du Casse arriving at Petit Goave, but the inhabitants refused to let him land his slaves.[29]

On his return to France the Company gave him command of *La Banière*, a ship of 26 guns, for the first transport of slaves,[30] but driven by a storm to the coast of England and detained there by illness for several months, he was obliged to entrust *La Banière* to an under-officer. On his recovery he fitted out a ship at his own expense to go to Curaçao for the purchase of slaves destined for sale in St.-Domingo. With varying fortunes he continued his cruises in the interest of the slave trade, and in spite of losses, for which he was able at all events in part to compensate by equipping himself with a few new ships, he returned to France with honor.[31] In 1685 he is said to have again been given *La Banière* and after a successful trip to the Indies on his return voyage to have engaged in a desperate fight with a Dutch frigate, which he brought in to La Rochelle as a prize.[32]

Du Casse appears among the directors of the Company of Senegal for the first time in 1681.[33] In the letter of the directors of the new Company to Patoulet, already mentioned,[34] they request that he sign the letters patent that they enclose, and furthermore "d'avoir la bonté de départir l'honneur de vostre protection en tout ce qui dépendra de vostre protection au Sr Du Casse qui[35] faict nos affaires à la Martinique."[36] He is also reported to have held the property of the Company at St. Domingo at the time of the liquidation of the Company's affairs.[37]

We learn that Du Casse was at Martinique in the interests of the Company from 1681–1683 not merely from the letters of La Rue.[38] From a letter written at Martinique, May 20, 1683, to Patoulet,[39] then Intendant at Dunkerque, we find that Du Casse had demanded the confiscation of a ship and its cargo of negroes, as well as the imposition of a fine for the illegal importation of negroes. At the time when the privileges of the new Company were revoked, it would seem probable that Du Casse foresaw the imminence of failure and expected to be recalled.[40] In fact he is reputed to have become openly hostile and to have taken a prominent part in securing for the new Compagnie de Guinée a large part of the trading privileges on the African coast hitherto enjoyed by the Senegal Company.[41]

[29] *Margry 9325*, fol. 273 (Pouançay apparently to Blénac, May 6, 1680; Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 125–127; Le Pers, fol. 93v.

[30] Le Pers, *op. cit.*, *8990*, fol. 307v.

[31] *Ibid.*, fol. 307v–309v; Du Casse, pp. 53–56; Charlevoix, II, pp. 230–231.

[32] Du Casse, pp. 60–61; Charlevoix, II, 230–232; M. Besson, *Les "Frères de la Coste,"* (Paris: 1928), p. 212.

[33] *Margry, 9339*, fol. 97–100; Chemin-Dupontès, pp. 122, 123; Mims, p. 301.

[34] See above, note 9.

[35] *Ms.*, que.

[36] Mims, pp. 302–303.

[37] *Margry, ibid.*, fol. 96; Chemin-Dupontès, p. 123.

[38] Letters 6, 8, 10, 11, 13.

[39] *Margry, ibid.*, fol. 212.

[40] Cf. Letters 8, 11.

[41] Chemin-Dupontès, pp. 141–142; Mims, pp. 307–308.

The many services of Du Casse were recognized by his receiving a commission in the royal navy as lieutenant de vaisseau, March 15, 1686, by his being made governor of St. Domingo, June 1, 1691, chef d'escadre on July 20, 1701, and on December 27, 1707, lieutenant général des armées navales.

He died June 25, 1715, at Bourbon l'Archambault (Allier).[42] On July 13 funeral masses were said in the Jacobin church, rue St.-Dominique, Paris.[43]

Gondi plainly states that François and Du Casse were brothers. Zipoli refers to the latter merely as a kinsman ("parente") of François.[44] The tie between them was sufficiently close for Du Casse to have extended the hospitality of his home to La Rue, who says that he did so "à la considération de M. François."[45] Madame du Casse whom Gondi mentions as the sister-in-law (*cognata*) of François is said to have been Marthe de Baudry and to have died at Paris in December, 1743, aged eighty-two years.[46] The natural inference from these facts is that Du Casse and François were half-brothers. There appears to be no further information available about Madame du Casse nor her family pertinent to the subject, nor any record of an earlier marriage of Du Casse. It is always possible that Gondi's remark about the relationship of François and Du Casse may be no more reliable than his statement that the former was connected with the "Compagnie des Indes."

[42] For the above record see Clairambault, *Mss. fr. 878*, fol. 101; *Margry, 9327*, fol. 119–120, where 1702 is given in place of 1701 in the above dates; Besson, *loc. cit.*, where he quotes the "régistres matriculés dans le fond de la Marine, Arch. Nat."

[43] Clairambault, *loc. cit.*

[44] See above, pp. 96, 99.

[45] Letter 10, p. 191.

[46] *Margry, loc. cit.*

APPENDIX III

The Letters of La Rue

FLORENCE, ARCHIVIO DI STATO, ARCHIVIO MEDICEO

4782[1]

1. *To Gondi from Rouen.*[2]

De Roüen, ce jeudi à dix heures du soir, 15 d'avril, 1681[3]

Monsieur:

Je ne sçay par où commencer pour vous remercier de toutes les bontés que vous avez eües pour moy dans la disgrâce qui m'est arrivée; la personne que vous sçavés vous dira tous mes sentimens, et vous les fera voir tels que la vérité les a tirés de ma bouche et de mon coeur. Je vous supplie de me continuer l'honneur de vostre protection. On vous dira les raisons que i'ay pour faire le voyage qui m'a esté proposé, et si par hazard ie ne pourais m'y accomoder, i'attends tout de vostre bonté, et suis, Monsieur,

Vostre très humble et obéissant
Serviteur De la Rüe

2. *To Gondi from Dieppe.*[4]

De Dieppe, le 20 avril, 1681

Monsieur:

J'auray suiet de me louer toute ma vie des peines que j'ay souffertes puisque elles mont attiré l'honneur de vostre protection. J'avoüe que i'ay eue une joye nompareille voyant que vous aviés la bonté de me tesmoigner qu'elles ne vous estoint pas indifférentes. Je vous puis assurer, Mr, que ie conserveray un éternel souvenir de toutes les bontés que vous avés pour moy et que ie tascheray de me rendre digne des faveurs que vous me faites par le zèle que j'auray pour vostre service, que si présentement ie ne suis pas en estat de vous le tesmoigner par mes actions, je vous prie d'agréer le tesmoignage que ie vous en donne par mes paroles et de croire que ie suis et seray toute ma vie,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et obéissant
Serviteur De la Rüe

[1] See above, p. 85.
[2] Letters of Panciatichi to Gondi; between those of April 5 and 12.
[3] On the date cf. above, p. 102.
[4] With Letter 1.

A Monsieur[5]
Monsieur l'Abbé de Gondy
envoyé du grand Duc de Toscane
A Paris

4782; 4769[6]

3. *To Zipoli from Dieppe.*[7]

De Dieppe, ce 5 may, 1681

Carissimo Signore:

Ho tante cose a dirvi che non so di dove jncomminciare. La Granduchessa è arrivata quì oggi, lunedì, cinque di maggio: e partiamo domani sera, martedì, 6e per la Martinique. Ho visto l'amica di passaggio in carrozza, io bestemmiando come un turco, perchè d'Estampes havendomi visto per la strada l'è ito a dire alla Granduchessa, e subito ordine dato ch'io fossi condotto alla Cittadella[8] in prigione insino ch'ela[9] fosse partita. Io non ho volsuto andarvi come potete credere, e ho detto ch'io non havevo più che fare alla Granduchessa, non havendo più l'honore d'esser a lei; che s'io l'havevo rubata o fatto qualche cattiva attione che lei mi facesse mettere in prigione, alla buonhora, se no che la mia vita non mi costava nulla, ma ch'io la farei costare a quello che mi menava in prigione, ch'era d'Estampes; quando m'ha visto così risoluto, m'a detto solamente di levarmi dall' hosteria dove erano le genti di Madama di Guisa, e di tenermi in una casa sino che la Granduchessa fosse partita; ed io che scrivo adesso ci sono fermo con Mde du Casse,[10] a chi d'Estampes a parlato. Non so che cosa succederà stasera[11] quando d'Estampes havrà fatta la relatione di quel ch'io [ho][12] detto. Caso che succeda qualche cosa o ch'io perda la vita come son risoluto più presto che di lasciarmi imprigionare, voi ne sarete avisato da Mde Bouchet.[13] Immaginatevi che miseria puol essere più grande che la mia, che fato crudele! Doviamo partire quindeci giorni fa; è giusto; la Granduchessa viene la vigilia del nostro imbarco per farmi trattare come il più reo che sia mai stato al mondo. D'Estampes a fatto nascondere l'altro[14] et ha fatto bene perchè nella furia dove ero havrei fatto le mie vendette e quelle d'altri. Ho riceuto carezze da tutti di casa di Madama di Guisa, e quello ha fatto arrabbiare l'altro. Non so

[5] The address here and in Letters 3, 4, 5, and 9 is given on p. 4 of the letter.
[6] See above, p. 85.
[7] Original: *4782*, letter of May 16. Copy: *4769*, with the second letter of May 9. See Baccini, pp. 133–135.
[8] *Ms.*, cittadelle.
[9] *Ms.*, che le.
[10] On M. du Casse, see above Appendix II, 2.
[11] *4769. 4782*, ista sera.
[12] *4769* ins. ho.
[13] Perhaps Mlle; cf. below, Letter 11.
[14] I.e., Chantilly.

più che dirvi; la rabbia mi tiene di tal maniera che non so quel ch'io scrivo. Mostrate la lettera al Signor abbate, e supplicatelo per me della sua protettione, e di quella del(l) Granduca, perchè più che mai ne ho[15] di bisogno. Io aspetto nell' Indie che cosa succederà di tutto l'imbroglio, caso ch'io ci arrivi. Addio, amico caro; amatemi sempre tutt'infelice ch'io sia e non m'abbandonnate.

Monsieur

Monsieur Zipoli chez
Monsieur l'abbé de Gondi
envoyé du Grand Duc de
Toscane.
A Paris

4. *To Gondi from Martinique.*[16]

De la Martinique, ce 4 juillet, 1681.

Monsieur:

Je suis à peine arrivé à la Martinique, que ie prends la liberté de vous escrire pour vous assurer de mes très humbles respects et pour vous demander la continuation de vostre protection. Monsieur Zipoli vous pourra dire la réception qu'on m'a faicte icy et la méschante conioncture où ie me trouve sans argent ny rien. I'attendray vos ordres pour sçavoir si ie dois retourner en France pour passer en Italie tascher à gagner mon pain auparavant que ie perde ma voix et mon temps. La grâce que ie vous demande c'est d'avoir touiours pour moy la mesme bonté que vous m'avés tesmoignée autres fois et de croire que ie suis et seray à jamais

Vostre très humble & très
obéissant Serviteur
De la Rue.

A Monsieur
Monsieur L'Abbé de
Gondy Envoyé Extraordinaire
De Monsieur le grand duc
de Toscane
A Paris

[15] *Ms.* nh'o.

[16] Original: *4782,* with Gondi's letter of October 17, 1681. Copy: *4769* with the same letter of Gondi. In the copy some of La Rue's mistakes in writing are corrected, but there are no variations affecting the meaning, and no readings from it, therefore, are noted below.

5. *To Gondi from Martinique.*[17]

Monsieur:

Je me suis desia donné l'honneur de vous escrire, pour satisfaire à une partie de ce que ie vous doibs[18] et pour vous assurer de mes respects; ie prends derechef la liberté de vous importuner de mes lettres, et de vous demander la continuation de vos bontés et l'honneur de vostre protection. Si i'ay esté assés heureux que ma première vous ayt esté rendüe, vous aurés pu voir de la manière dont ie suis icy et le peu qu'il y a à espérer. Ie ne laisseray pas pourtant d'attendre vos ordres avant que rien entreprendre, et ie me trouveray heureux dans mon malheur, si vous avés touiours les mesmes sentimens de bienveillence qu'on m'a tesmoigné[s] de vostre part au sortir de France. C'est toute la grâce que ie vous demande et de vouloir permettre que ie prenne touiours la qualité, Monsieur, de

Vostre très humble et obéissant
Serviteur De la Rüe

à la Martinique
Ce 28 iuillet, 1681

A Monsieur
Monsieur l'abbé de Gondy
Envoyé extraordinaire du
grand duc de Toscane
A Paris

4791[19]

6. *To Zipoli from Martinique.*[20]

De la Martinique, ce 23 7bre; 1681

Carissimo Signore & amico:

Questa è la terza lettera ch'io mi sono dato l'honore di scrivervi, alla quale troverete giunta la relatione, si del viaggio come la descrittione dell' isola della Martinique ch'io [ho][21] fatta la più esatta ch'io potuto. Aspetto tutta via nuove di Francia, e di Monsieur François[22] per sapere a che partito mi debba appigliare, e delle sue[23] per sapere come passa ogni cosa in Europa. Gli mandavo per la prima lettera come Mr Du Casse mi disse che non haveva tanti affari da

[17] With Letter 4. [18] *Ms.*, doits.
[19] See above, p. 85. Letters 6, 7, 8, 9, and the "Relation de la Martinique" are here in a letter of Zipoli to Gondi, from Paris, May 14, 1682.
[20] No. 1 in the manuscript.
[21] Ins. perhaps *ho;* cf. above, note 12; below, note 27.
[22] On M. François see pp. 178–179. [23] *Ms.* sua.

impiegar un Commesso, ma che scriverebbe a Mr François per saper le sue resolutioni. Gli mandai un papagallo per via d'un amico; non so se l'haura riceuto.

Sto con impatienza grande di saper delle sue nuove ritrovandomi quà senza danari per fornirmi di vestite et altre robbe ch'ogni cosa quà è carissima. Tutto quel ch'io preggo è di conservarmi sempre la protettione del Signor abbate chè da quella dipende quella del Serenissima Granduca.

Se non havesse risposta favorevole di Mr François, sarei obligato a ritornar in Francia, e mi troverei a cattivo partito, non havendo ne manco un soldo per condurmi a Parigi; pure ch'io potessi condurmi sino in Italia non mi darebbe fastidio, perchè sperarei di potermi buscare il pane con la musica.

Piglio l'ardire di scrivere al Signor abbate per chiederli la continuatione delle sue bontà per me e la sua protettione. Vorrei poter sapere l'effetto che ha fatto l'ultimo affare di Dieppe nello spirito della Granduchessa, e come va la casa doppo la mia partita, se gl'amori durano sempre. La prego di volermene avvisare caso ch'io debba restar quì non sapendo nuove da nissuna (*sic*) parte. Non so che scriverli altro se non infastidirla ancora e pregarla sempre di conservarmi quell' amititia[24] che mi promesse quando ci separammo.

Mille bacciamani a tutti gl'amici, non occorre nominarli, e mi creda sempre dounque io sia

Di V.S. humilissimo et affettionatissimo
Servo & amico De la Rüe

7. *To Gondi from Martinique.*[25]

De la Martinique, ce 23 7bre, 1681

Monsieur:

C'est pour la troisiesme fois que ie prens la liberté de vous importuner de mes lettres, mais vous aurés bien la bonté de m'excuser sur ce que les premières peuvent avoir esté perdües dans une si longue traversée et que dailleurs ie ne sçaurois laisser passer aucune occasion sans estre obligé de vous assurer de mes respects et de vous demander la continuation de vos bontés et l'honneur de vostre protection, que ie vous demande avec toute sorte de soumission. Ie ne sçay encore quelle sera ma destinée en ces pays icy; en tout cas, Monsieur, la bonté que vous m'avés touiours tesmoignée et celle que vous eustes la bonté de m'escrire me fait espérer que ie ne seray pas tout à fait misérable tant que ie pourray prendre la qualité,

Monsieur, de
Vostre très humble et très
obéissant Serviteur
Dela Rüe

[24] *Ms.* amizitia?

[25] No. 5 in the manuscript.

8. *To Zipoli from Martinique.*[26]

A la Martinique, le 23 janvier, 1682.

Monsieur:

Non so se la mia disgrazia sarà stata assai grande perchè vi siate scordato di me in un paese così lontano, come io sono incerto d'ogni cosa come al principio; è quì pur giunto un vascello et una donna che partì di quà nel mese di lulio, alla quale detti una letters per V.S., e m'[h]a assicurato averla messa alla posta. Ho ancora havuto nuova dell'arrivo in Francia di due vascelli, il primo de' quali vi portava un papagallo, e l'altro la relatione, et tutt' e due son guinti a buon porto, et n'habbiamo hauto nuove di quà; quel tanto mi fa credere che v'havrete receute quelle lettere e relatione, come anco il papagallo, caso che non sia morto nel viaggio.

Non posso anco credere che la distanza de' luoghi e uno spatio così grande di mari v'habbia fatto scordare affatto di me, ch'io non credo haver fatto cosa che meriti un così grave oblio; però, carissimo Signor mio, non mi tenete più in pena, datemi qualche nuove chè, le sieno buone o cattive per me, le mi saranno sempre care, pure ch'io sappia che voi tenete ancora qualche memoria dell' infelice La Rüe. Io scrivo al Sig^re abbate e lo prego di conservarmi sempre la sua protettione. A dirvi il vero voi s[i]ete le due sole persone in chi posso sperare doppo quel ch'io [ho][27] fatto et del quale non mi pento. Però pensate qualche volte a me e fatene ricordare il nostro padrone alle sue hore perse.

Vi supplico ancora una volta, scrivetemi et consigliatemi se devo ritornare o finir quì l'anno, ch'io non ho un soldo e non ho salario alcuno fisso.

Datemi delle nuove della mia povera sorella, della Sig^ra Cintia e di tutti nostri amici, come anche della riuscita di tutto il negotio, se il nostro principe sta bene, e tutta la sua Serenissima famiglia, che Dio conservi.

Se fossi certo d'un impiego sarei assai felice quì, se ben si lavora di molto, perchè ho la fortuna d'essere amato da molti e considerato di M^r du Casse, ma tutto questo non empie la borsa, e la voce si puol perdere.

Però se non ho presto nuove di M^r François e che non termini le cose e fissi il salario, gli son servitore, chè non vo' perdere il mio tempo. M'è stato detto che quando hanno tenuto così qualche tempo un giovane al loro servitio, lo ringratiano e non parlano di pagarlo; se questo fosse, saremo caldi; o almeno gli ritengono la metà; però non posso credere tal cosa di M^r François, che doppo le sue promesse, mi volesse far un si brutto tiro. Ma sempre diffidarsi è il meglio. La Compagnia ha mutato e puol mutare ancora, e se M^r Ducasse non fosse stato conservato nel suo impiego, mi sarebbe stato forza di partire per il primo vascello o di chieder il pane, chè quì non si da nulla per nulla.

Però, carissimo amico, vi prego a ricordarvi di me. Partono[28] sempre vascelli

[26] No. 3 in the manuscript.

[27] *Ms.*, ins. perhaps *ho;* see above, note 21.

[28] *Ms.*, partano.

di Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Nantes, e di tutta la Normandia, e tutte le settimane ne parte (*sic*) due o tre in questa stagione. Spero nella vostra amicitia la quale voi mi havete promessa quando ci separammo a Roüen, e credo che voi me l'habbiate conservata. Se fossi assai infelice per haverla persa, sarei il più miserabile del mondo, perchè, come già ho detto, se il Sig[r] abbate e voi m'abbandonate son perso.

Mandatemi se posso mandarvi qualche cosa di quà che vi sia cara. Non mancano papagalli, ma la stagione non è buona; adesso per mandarli morirebbero di freddo. Quando sarà tempo, se trovo occasione d'amico ve ne manderò. In tanto credete mi ch'io sono con tutto[29] il cuore,

Monsieur,
Vostre très humble et très obéissant
et affectionné Serviteur et amy
fidèlle Dela Rüe

9. *To Gondi from Martinique.*[30]

A la Martinique, le 24 janvier, 1682

Monsieur:

Je ne doute point que vous n'ayés reçu deux de[s] quatre lettres que ie me suis donné l'honneur de vous escrire, les vaisseaux et les personnes qui les ont portées estant de retour icy à bon port.

Je prends encore la liberté de vous réitérer l'assurance de mes très humbles respects et de vous demander la continuation de vostre protection. Ie suis encore sur le mesme pied que i'estois au commencement, c'est-à-dire dans l'incertitude de mon employ et sans appointemens.

J'espérois d'apprendre de vos nouvelles par le retour de ces vaisseaux, mais ie n'ay pas esté asses heureux pour cela.

Je me flatte, Monsieur, que vous aves touiours quelque bonté pour moy e[t] j'espère que si ie retourne en Europe que vous me ferés la grâce de me protéger, et que vous n'oublierés pas,

Monsieur,
Vostre très humble et très obéissant
Serviteur De la Rüe

A Monsieur
Monsieur L'abbé de
Gondy Envoyé Extraordinaire
De S.A.S. le grand Duc
De Toscane
A Paris

[29] *Ms.*, tutti.

[30] No. 4 in the manuscript.

10. *To Zipoli from Martinique.*[31]

A la Martinique, le 30e janvier, 1683.

Monsieur:

Ie ne sçaurois vous exprimer la joye que je ressentis en recevant un paquet de vos lettres dans un temps où je n'espérois plus d'en recevoir, et où je croyois que vous m'eussiés tout a fait oublié. J'ay esté vint fois prest à m'embarquer pour France, pour aller moy-mesme sçavoir ma destinée, mais la peur de déplaire à S.A.S. m'en a empesché avant d'avoir reçu des nouvelles. Je vous assure que dans la conioncture où je me trouve je n'envisage rien que malheur pour moy, et je prévoy que je seray à la fin la victime de tout; Cela ne m'empeschera pas que je ne suporte avec patience toutes mes disgrâces et que je ne remette toute ma destinée entre les mains de Dieu. J'obéiray aveuglement à tout ce qu'on m'ordonne, et quoyque je sois touiours dans la mesme estat que j'estois au commencement, c'est-à-dire sans employ, je resteray icy le plus que je pourray. Monsieur du Casse me donne sa table, à la consideration[32] de Mr François, et vous pouvés croire qu'avec le peu d'argent que j'avois et encore moins de hardes, je ne puis qu'estre dans un assés mauvais estat. Je n'en murmure point, et par bonheur un habit de toile m'est aussy utile en ce pays, qu'un habit de drap, quoyque tout y soit extrêmement cher.

Pour ce qu'est des deffenses que l'on me fait d'entrer jamais dans les estats[33] de S.A.S. vous sçavez que auparavent que de m'embarquer je me soumis avec une entière résignation aux volontés de son[34] Altesse, et que par conséquent si je suis obligé de quitter ce pays, je ne contreviendray jamais à ses ordres, non plus qu'à ne jamais parler en quelque lieu que ce soit de la personne dont vous me parles. Pour le roman que vous me deffendés par ordre de faire, je puis vous dire qu'ayant un peu l'esprit plus rassis que je n'avois, je n'ay gardé d'entreprendre une chose qui me perdroit entièrement d'un costé et d'autre. Enfin mon nom n'est pas si considérable que je ne le doive changer, et plust à Dieu que ma destinée changeast aussytost. Tout ce que je puis vous dire c'est qu'ayant sacrifié tout à S.A.S. je suis prest à luy sacrifier la dernière goute de mon sang et de donner ma vie si elle luy est désagréable; et si j'ay eu assés de malheur pour luy desplaire en quelque chose, aussy bien m'est elle assés ennuyeuse en l'estat où je suis, et elle n'est pas de si grande ut(it)ilité qu'on puisse la regretter. Je suis prest à passer le reste de mes jours dans le nouveau monde icy, si S.A.S. l'ordonne, et je ne partiray qu'à la dernière extrémité; mais je ne le feray jamais qu'après vous en avoir donné avis.

Je ne puis douter que Mr l'abbé de Gondy ne soit asses touché de mes malheurs et qu'après les promesses authentiques que vous m'avez faites de sa part et qu'il a eu la bonté de me confirmer par la lettre qu'il me fit l'honneur de m'escrire, il

[31] With the letter of Zipoli from Paris, dated March 29, 1683.

[32] *Ms.*, consideraon.

[33] *Ms.*, estast.

[34] *Ms.*, sa.

ne s'employe pour moy auprès d'un prince aussy généreux et qui a le plus de compassion des misérables qu'est Monseigneur le grand Duc, que si cela estoit, et que S.A.S. eust dessein que je passasse icy tout le temps, qu'elle auroit la bonté de me prescrire, sçachant que Mr du Casse ne sera pas touiours dans son employ comme il m'a confié, et que devant s'en retourner en France pour rendre compte à la Compie de sa gestion, il sera hors d'estat de me secourir; Son Altesse eust aussy la bonté de me secourir de quelque argent pour couler doucement mes jours, qu'il ne seroit pas difficile de me faire tenir par voye soit de Bordeaux, de La Rochelle, Marseille, et de tous les ports de Normandie, d'où il part continuellement des vaisseaux pour les Isles, je ne serois assurément point si à plaindre que je suis. J'attendray touiours avec toute la soumission possible ce qu'il luy plaira de m'ordonner, et recevray ses ordres avec une entière résignation à sa volonté.

Je prie seulement mon cher Monsieur Zipoli de ne me point abandonner et de s'employer pour moy autant qu'il pourra. Ouy, mon cher Monsieur, après Dieu et S.A.S. et Mr l'abbé de Gondy, c'est en vous seul que j'espère quelque soulagement à ma misère, et comme ce n'est que par vous seul que je puis sçavoir ma destinée, je vous conjure par toute l'amitié que vous m'avez tesmoignée de me donner de vos nouvelles le plus que vous pourrés.

Je ne fais que recevoir vostre lettre et vous escris en mesme temps parcequ'il y a un vaisseau soubs voile qui fait son retour en France; c'est ce qui m'empesche de vous envoyer la relation que vous me demandés et que je vous enverray, Dieu aydant, dans un mois qu'il doit partir un vaisseau de Roy, qui est icy, et elle sera d'autant plus ample et plus exacte que la première, en ce que je suis à plein informé du pays et que j'ay vu une partie des Isles que j'en sçay mieux et les moeurs et le commerce. J'espère que vous en serés content.

J'adresse ma lettre à Mr Valenty. Je crains que vous ne soyés de retour en Italie. En quelque part que vous soyés je vous supplie de ne me pas oublier et de croire que je seray éternellement,

Monsieur

Je n'ay pas le coeur de vous parler
de ma soeur et ce que je puis faire
c'est de plaindre sa destinée aussy
bien que la mienne. Je ne sçay si
je dois la blasmer de n'avoir pas
obéy aveuglement à ce qu'on
demandoit d'elle. Je prie Dieu qu'il
luy donne une meilleure fortune
qu' à moy.

Vostre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur

Larüe

11. *To Zipoli from Martinique.*[35]

A la Martinique, ce 24 fébvrier, 1683

Monsieur:

Je me donnay l'honneur de vous escrire il y a un mois et vous donnay avis de la réception d'un paquet de trois de vos lettres par la[36] voye de Mlle Basset.[37] Je vous fis response sur tous les points de vos lettres et vous manday que j'estois touiours de mesme, c'est-à-dire sans employ et n'ayant que la table de Mr du Casse, qu'il me donne pour bonté. Jugés si depuis près de deux ans que je suis icy à ne rien gagner les misérables quinze pistoles que j'avois et le peu de hardes ne doivent pas estre consommées, et de quels moyens je me puis servir dans un pays où les marchandises se vendent cent pour cent plus qu'en France. Cependant je vous manday, que je n'avois aucune volonté et que je me soumettrois aveuglement à tout ce qu'on souhaitte de moy. Je resteray icy tant qu'on le jugera à propos, mais si Monsieur l'abbé de Gondy a quelque bonté pour moy il pouroit aisément me procurer quelque argent de S.A.S. pour pouvoir au moins m'entretenir tant qu'elle voudra que je reste icy; que si je me vois contraint d'en partir — comme je le feray infailliblement si Monsieur du Casse est relevé de son employ, comme il le croit — j'attendray dans un port de mer où je débarqueray — ce qu'on voudra me prescrire — et je vous manderay l'endroit où je seray. Cependant j'attendray encore à la moitié de cette année et je ne perdray aucune occasion de vous escrire et de vous tesmoigner mes sentimens, qui seront touiours d'avoir une entière soumission et une résignation parfaitte aux volontés de S.A.S. Elle pourra estre touchée de ma misère qui comme vous sçaves ne m'est arrivée que pour avoir trop esté dans ses intérests, mais je ne m'en repens pas, et si j'estois encore dans la mesme conjoncture je ferois touiours mon devoir.

Jamais la Toscane ne me verra que par les ordres de S.A.S. et mon nom sera tout autre que j'ay porté si tost que j'auray touché la France, où jamais on ne m'entendra parler de la personne que vous sçavés ny de roman ny d'histoire non plus que si je ne l'avois jamais connüe.

Je vous prie de vostre part d'avoir quelque compassion de moy et de me servir auprès de Mr l'abbé de Gondy, soit par vos lettres ou de bouche si vous estes dans le pays; donnés moy, je vous prie, de vos nouvelles le plus souvent que vous pourrés. J'espère que vous ne me refuserés point la grâce que je vous demande, puisque je suis véritablement.

Monsieur,

Vostre très humble et très obe. Ser.

Larüe

[35] Loose in the ms., but placed before Zipoli's letter of October 11, 1683. Perhaps this is the letter mentioned in Zipoli's of August 2, 1683, but it is much more probably that sent to Florence, May 17, 1683, and by Gondi to Panciatichi, June 1. See above, p. 111.

[36] *Ms.*, le. [37] Cf. above, note 13.

12. *To Gondi from Martinique.*[38]

A la Martinique, le 13e juillet, 1683

Monsieur:

C'est avec le corps et l'esprit exténué d'une maladie de cinq mois dont je ne puis revenir, que je vous escris cette lettre. C'est une liberté, Monsieur, que je n'aurois pas prise dans un autre temps, mais me voyant condamné à mourir par les médecins et chirurgiens si je ne quitte le séjour des Isles, je crois que vous ne trouverés pas mauvais que je vous en donne avis. Je ne sçaurois oublier, Monsieur, la manière obligeante dont vous avés eu la bonté de m'offrir vostre protection; je me suis donné l'honneur de vous en demander la continuation par plusieurs des miennes. Je ne sçay si j'auray esté assés heureux pour qu'elles vous ayent esté rendües. Je vous informois, Monsieur, de[39] l'estat misérable auquel j'ay esté réduit. J'ay reçu une lettre seule de Monsieur Zipoli depuis vint-sept mois que je suis party de France, et une lettre désespérante, puisqu'on me deffend de sortir d'icy sans ordre, quoyque je fusse prest à m'embarquer. J'ay différé mon départ par obéissance, mais l'estat pitoyable auquel j'estois réduit joint au désespoir de me voir pour ainsy dire abandonné m'ont causé la maladie dont je ne croy pas de revenir. Je me suis opiniastré jusque icy contre un flux de sang qui me tient depuis cinq mois et qu'on ne peut arrester. J'ay combattu contre le sentiment des médecins et chirurgiens et mesme contre celuy d'un révérend père jésuite, nostre curé, et qui est celuy qui a eu tous les soins imaginables de moy pendant ma maladie, qui vouloient tous absolument que je m'embarquasse; mais la crainte de déplaire à celuy de qui j'attends seul toute ma fortune m'a empesché de risquer le tout pour le tout. Mais présentement que je me vois réduit au point à ne plus espérer de vie si je reste davantage et que d'ailleurs je suis touiours sans employ, je tascheray de passer en France. Mais je ne le feray pas sans avoir attestation des médecins et mesme de mon Confesseur, le révérend père dont je vous ay parlé et qui est fort connu en Europe, afin que l'on voye que ce n'est pas par légèreté ny par caprice, mais forcé de la violence du mal que j'entreprends le voyage. Je me donneray l'honneur de vous donner avis du port où je seray descendu, si Dieu me fait la grâce d'y arriver; et j'attendray là les effets de vostre pitié et de la protection que vous m'avés promise.

Je vous demande mille pardons si je vous escris si librement. Je sçay qu'on m'accusera d'imprudence de vous découvrir mes sentimens d'une manière qui paroist si peu respectueuse, mais n'ayant que la vie à perdre, j'ayme mieux l'offrir à S.A.S. qu'elle en dispose à sa volonté, si je l'ay offensée en quelque chose, que de me la voir ravir par la maladie, pouvant y mettre remède.

[38] After the letter of Zipoli dated August 2, 1683. It is clearly out of place. It seems to be that sent by Zipoli from Paris on September 20.

[39] *Ms.*, du.

C'est à vous présentement, Monsieur, que j'ay recours; vous pouvés tout auprès du grand Duc. Je me jette entre vos bras et vous supplie avec toute l'humilité possible de ne me point abandonner et de me tenir touiours sous vostre protection. Je ne puis recourir qu'à vous et sans vous je me vois à la veille d'estre le plus misérable du monde. Que ma misère vous touche, Monsieur, et que du moins si S.A.S. ne me veut pas voir et me deffend l'entrée de ses estats elle me donne par pitié et par charité les moyens de vivre doucement. Je ne vous fatigueray pas davantage, et c'est trop vous entretenir de mes malheurs. Heureux dans ma misère, si vous ne me refusés pas la grâce de pouvoir me dire éternellement et avec un profond respect

Monsieur

Vostre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur

Larüe

13. *To Gondi from Angers.*[40]

Angers, ce 24 9^{bre}, 1683

Monsieur:

La force de la maladie, et dont je ne pouvois espérer de guérir dans les Isles, m'ayant obligé de m'embarquer dans un très pitoyable estat pour repasser en Europe, estant enfin arrivé à la Rochelle apres avoir esté trois mois en mer, où nous avons souffert le plus cruel temps qu'on puisse s'imaginer, je me préparois à suivre les ordres que M^r Zipoli m'avoit donné[s] de vostre part, lorsque la cruauté de ma destinée qui ne se lasse point de me persécuter m'a fait malheureusement démettre un bras, de sorte que n'ayant pas esté bien panse[41] d'abord, je me suis trouvé hors d'estat de continuer ma route jusque à Marseille où j'aurois attendu les ordres qu'il vous plaira de me donner; et j'ay esté obligé, n'ayant pas beaucoup d'argent, de venir trouver mon père croyant qu'il auroit de quoy me faire traitter et de me faire passer l'hiver auprès de luy en attendant ce qu'il plaira à S.A.S. d'ordonner de ma destinée. Mais j'ay trouvé mon père hors d'estat de m'asister, c'est-à-dire fort pauvre, et pour surcroist de malheur, ayant fait visiter mon bras on m'en a fait un très meschant rapport et l'on m'a dit que je ne m'en aiderois jamais si bien qu'auparavant; cependant on m'a fait espérer que je pourrois m'en servir pour escrire et pour joüer du clavessin; mais ce n'est qu'à grand[e] peine que j'escris présentement. J'ay bien peur de passer un fort meschant hyver, si la charité de S.A.S. ne m'asiste en ce rencontre. Je me suis touiours beaucoup fié sur vostre bonté et sur ce que M^r Zipoli m'a mandé de vostre part, et sur ce que vous me fiste[s] l'honneur de m'escrire quand je

[40] After the letter of Zipoli dated December 13, 1683. The handwriting is clear, but somewhat more irregular than in La Rue's earlier letters, and shows that his arm was still weak.

[41] *Ms.*, pensé.

partis pour les Isles. Je n'ay d'espérance qu'en vous, et si vous m'abbandonnés en l'estat où je suis, je cours risque de mourir de faim et de misère.

Monsieur Zipoli m'a mandé par sa dernière lettre que si je repassois la France, j'escrivisse du lieu où je serois, qu'on me feroit tenir quelque argent et qu'on m'enverroit les ordres que je devrois suivre. Mais comme il fait fort cher vivre à La Rochelle et que j'avois fort peu d'argent, estant proche d'Angers j'ay trouvé plus à propos de m'y tenir couvert jusque à ce que j'eusse reçu l'honneur de vos nouvelles. Pour ce que regarde Madame — j'ay trop d'intérest pour qu'elle ne sçache pas où je suis pour en parler jamais, et pour me tenir caché soubs le nom de Bouchet, que j'ay pris, comme on me l'a ordonné, au lieu de celuy de La Rüe. Je sors le moins que je peus pour n'estre pas connu; ainsy je tasche de suivre les ordres qu'on m'a prescrit[s]. Je n'ay pas voulu partir des Isles sans prendre le certificat que je vous envoye pour faire voir la nécessité indispensable où j'estois de repasser en Europe joint à ce que Mr du Casse ayant esté démis de son employ il estoit hors d'estat de me continuer ses bontés.

Je vous aurois envoyé une relation assés ample et très fidelle que j'ay faitte des Isles de l'Amérique, mais ne pouvant escrire qu'avec bien de la peine, j'ay différé à vous l'envoyer jusque à ce que je sois en estat de la transcrire.

Il ne me reste plus, Monsieur, qu'à vous supplier très humblement de ne me pas oublier dans l'estat où je suis, et de faire auprès de S.A.S. tout ce que vous pourés pour un misérable qui jusque à présent, battu de l'orage, ne peut trouver de port assuré sans vostre assistance. J'espère tout de vostre bonté et jusque à présent j'en ay reçu tant de marques que je croirois faire un crime de douter que vous n'ayés touiours la mesme à l'avenir pour moy. Cependant aussy, Monsieur, j'en auray une reconnoissance éternelle et dans quelque estat que je suis je feray touiours gloire de me dire avec tout le respect imaginable,

Monsieur,

Vostre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur

Bouchet.

Comme je ne sçaj en quel endroit est Mr Zipoli, je prends la liberté de vous adresser cette lettre pour luy faire tenir où il sera.

J'attendray vos ordres soubs le nom de Bouchet démeurant chez Mr De la Rüe, rüe St Aubin, Angers.

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